

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

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In this issue

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

**INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS CONCLUDED BY THE GOVERNMENTS
REPRESENTED AT THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION**

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Address by Acting Secretary Grew

GEOPOLITICS AT MUNICH
By Russell H. Fifield

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CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

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WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

1168

1168 to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our
lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

1149 to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of
1167 the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations
large and small, and

1144 to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations
1145 arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be main-
tained, and

1149 to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

1150
1151

AND FOR THESE ENDS

1119 to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good
1134 neighbors, and

1142 to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
1144 to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods,
that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

1163 to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and
social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS.

1162 Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled
in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in
1169 good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations
1169 and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United
1173 Nations.

Chapter I: *Purposes and Principles*

Article 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Article 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

Chapter II: *Membership*

Article 3

The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

Article 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise

of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

Article 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter III: *Organs*

Article 7

1. There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.

2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 8

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

Chapter IV: *The General Assembly*

COMPOSITION

Article 9

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.

2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 10

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United

Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

Article 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.

2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

Article 12

1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

Article 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

a. promoting international cooperation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;

b. promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

2. The further responsibilities, functions, and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1 (b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

Article 14

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

Article 16

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

Article 17

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.

2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

VOTING

Article 18

1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 (c) of Article 86, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.

3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Article 19

A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

PROCEDURE

Article 20

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as

occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

Article 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

Article 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Chapter V: The Security Council

COMPOSITION

Article 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect six other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members, however, three shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 24

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties

under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.

3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

Article 25

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 26

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

VOTING

Article 27

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

PROCEDURE

Article 28

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.

2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.

3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

Article 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Article 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

Article 31

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

Article 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

Chapter VI: *Pacific Settlement of Disputes*

Article 33

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

Article 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

Article 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

Chapter VII: *Action With Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression*

Article 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international

peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

Article 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfillment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional subcommittees.

Article 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

Article 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements*Article 52*

1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

4. This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

Article 53

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.

2. The term enemy state as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

Article 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter IX: *International Economic and Social Cooperation*

Article 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

- a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
- b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and
- c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Article 56

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 57

1. The various specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialized agencies.

Article 58

The Organization shall make recommendations for the coordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.

Article 59

The Organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the Organization set forth in this Chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

Chapter X: *The Economic and Social Council*

COMPOSITION

Article 61

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of eighteen Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, six members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years.

A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. At the first election, eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be chosen. The term of office of six members so chosen shall expire at the end of one year, and of six other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 62

1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.

4. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

Article 63

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.

2. It may coordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

Article 64

1. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations

and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.

2. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

Article 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

Article 66

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of Members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies.

3. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

VOTING

Article 67

1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

PROCEDURE

Article 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

Article 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any Member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

Article 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

Article 71

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.

Article 72

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Chapter XI: *Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories*

Article 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development

of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

c. to further international peace and security;

d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to cooperate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighborliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

Chapter XII: *International Trusteeship System*

Article 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

Article 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

a. to further international peace and security;

b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive develop-

ment towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;

c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and

d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

Article 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

- a. territories now held under mandate;
- b. territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and
- c. territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

Article 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

Article 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

Article 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

Article 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

Article 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

Article 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations

under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

Article 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defense and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

Article 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

Chapter XIII: The Trusteeship Council

COMPOSITION

Article 86

1. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:

a. those Members administering trust territories;

b. such of those Members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and

c. as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.

2. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 87

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

a. consider reports submitted by the administering authority;

b. accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;

c. provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and

d. take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

Article 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

VOTING

Article 89

1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

PROCEDURE

Article 90

1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Article 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies

in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

Chapter XIV: *The International Court of Justice*

Article 92

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.

Article 93

1. All Members of the United Nations are *ipso facto* parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 94

1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.

2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

Article 95

Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

Article 96

1. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.

2. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

Chapter XV: *The Secretariat*

Article 97

The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the Organization may require. The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.

Article 98

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs. The Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

Article 99

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 100

1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 101

1. The staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

2. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and, as required, to other organs of the United Nations. These staffs shall form a part of the Secretariat.

3. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

Chapter XVI: *Miscellaneous Provisions*

Article 102

1. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

2. No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

Article 103

In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.

Article 104

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfillment of its purposes.

Article 105

1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfillment of its purposes.

2. Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization.

3. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article or may propose conventions to the Members of the United Nations for this purpose.

Chapter XVII: *Transitional Security Arrangements*

Article 106

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of that Declaration, consult with one another and as occasion requires with other Members of the United Nations with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

Article 107

Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

Chapter XVIII: *Amendments*

Article 108

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Article 109

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any

seven members of the Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

Chapter XIX: *Ratification and Signature*

Article 110

1. The present Charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory states of each deposit as well as the Secretary-General of the Organization when he has been appointed.

3. The present Charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications deposited shall thereupon be drawn up by the Government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory states.

4. The states signatory to the present Charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become original Members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

Article 111

The present Charter, of which the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatory states.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the representatives of the Governments of the United Nations have signed the present Charter.

DONE at the city of San Francisco the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five.

STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Article 1

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE established by the Charter of the United Nations as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations shall be constituted and shall function in accordance with the provisions of the present Statute.

Chapter I: *Organization of the Court*

Article 2

The Court shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality from among persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law.

Article 3

1. The Court shall consist of fifteen members, no two of whom may be nationals of the same state.

2. A person who for the purposes of membership in the Court could be regarded as a national of more than one state shall be deemed to be a national of the one in which he ordinarily exercises civil and political rights.

Article 4

1. The members of the Court shall be elected by the General Assembly and by the Security Council from a list of persons nominated by the national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, in accordance with the following provisions.

2. In the case of Members of the United Nations not represented in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, candidates shall be nominated by national groups appointed for this purpose by their governments under the same conditions as those prescribed for members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration by Article 44 of the Convention of The Hague of 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

3. The conditions under which a state which is a party to the present Statute but is not a Member of the United Nations may participate in electing the members of the Court shall, in the absence of a special agreement, be laid down by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5

1. At least three months before the date of the election, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a written request to the members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration belonging to the states which are parties to the present Statute, and to the members of the national groups appointed under Article 4, paragraph 2, inviting them to undertake, within a given time, by national groups, the nomination of persons in a position to accept the duties of a member of the Court.

2. No group may nominate more than four persons, not more than two of whom shall be of their own nationality. In no case may the number of candidates nominated by a group be more than double the number of seats to be filled.

Article 6

Before making these nominations, each national group is recommended to consult its highest court of justice, its legal faculties and schools of law, and its national academies and national sections of international academies devoted to the study of law.

Article 7

1. The Secretary-General shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all the persons thus nominated. Save as provided in Article 12, paragraph 2, these shall be the only persons eligible.

2. The Secretary-General shall submit this list to the General Assembly and to the Security Council.

Article 8

The General Assembly and the Security Council shall proceed independently of one another to elect the members of the Court.

Article 9

At every election, the electors shall bear in mind not only that the persons to be elected should individually possess the qualifications required, but also that in the body as a whole the representation of the main forms of civilization and of the principal legal systems of the world should be assured.

Article 10

1. Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly and in the Security Council shall be considered as elected.

2. Any vote of the Security Council, whether for the election of judges or for the appointment of members of the conference envisaged in Article 12, shall be taken without any distinction between permanent and non-permanent members of the Security Council.

3. In the event of more than one national of the same state obtaining an absolute majority of the votes both of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the eldest of these only shall be considered as elected.

Article 11

If, after the first meeting held for the purpose of the election, one or more seats remain to be filled, a second and, if necessary, a third meeting shall take place.

Article 12

1. If, after the third meeting, one or more seats still remain unfilled, a joint conference consisting of six members, three appointed by the General Assembly and three by the Security Council, may be formed at any time at the request of either the General Assembly or the Security Council, for the purpose of choosing by the vote of an absolute majority one name for each seat still vacant, to submit to the General Assembly and the Security Council for their respective acceptance.

2. If the joint conference is unanimously agreed upon any person who fulfils the required conditions, he may be included in its list, even though he was not included in the list of nominations referred to in Article 7.

3. If the joint conference is satisfied that it will not be successful in procuring an election, those members of the Court who have already been elected shall, within a period to be fixed by the Security Council, proceed to fill the vacant seats by selection from among those candidates who have obtained votes either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council.

4. In the event of an equality of votes among the judges, the eldest judge shall have a casting vote.

Article 13

1. The members of the Court shall be elected for nine years and may be re-elected; provided, however, that of the judges elected at the first election, the terms of five judges shall expire at the end of three years and the terms of five more judges shall expire at the end of six years.

2. The judges whose terms are to expire at the end of the above-mentioned initial periods of three and six years shall be chosen by lot to be drawn by the Secretary-General immediately after the first election has been completed.

3. The members of the Court shall continue to discharge their duties until their places have been filled. Though replaced, they shall finish any cases which they may have begun.

4. In the case of the resignation of a member of the Court, the resignation shall be addressed to the President of the Court for transmission to the Secretary-General. This last notification makes the place vacant.

Article 14

Vacancies shall be filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election, subject to the following provision: the Secretary-General shall, within one month of the occurrence of the vacancy, proceed to issue the invitations provided for in Article 5, and the date of the election shall be fixed by the Security Council.

Article 15

A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose term of office has not expired shall hold office for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

Article 16

1. No member of the Court may exercise any political or administrative function, or engage in any other occupation of a professional nature.

2. Any doubt on this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 17

1. No member of the Court may act as agent, counsel, or advocate in any case.

2. No member may participate in the decision of any case in which he has previously taken part as agent, counsel, or advocate for one of the parties, or as a member of a national or international court, or of a commission of enquiry, or in any other capacity.

3. Any doubt on this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 18

1. No member of the Court can be dismissed unless, in the unanimous opinion of the other members, he has ceased to fulfil the required conditions.

2. Formal notification thereof shall be made to the Secretary-General by the Registrar.

3. This notification makes the place vacant.

Article 19

The members of the Court, when engaged on the business of the Court, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

Article 20

Every member of the Court shall, before taking up his duties, make a solemn declaration in open court that he will exercise his powers impartially and conscientiously.

Article 21

1. The Court shall elect its President and Vice-President for three years; they may be re-elected.

2. The Court shall appoint its Registrar and may provide for the appointment of such other officers as may be necessary.

Article 22

1. The seat of the Court shall be established at The Hague. This, however, shall not prevent the Court from sitting and exercising its functions elsewhere whenever the Court considers it desirable.

2. The President and the Registrar shall reside at the seat of the Court.

Article 23

1. The Court shall remain permanently in session, except during the judicial vacations, the

dates and duration of which shall be fixed by the Court.

2. Members of the Court are entitled to periodic leave, the dates and duration of which shall be fixed by the Court, having in mind the distance between The Hague and the home of each judge.

3. Members of the Court shall be bound, unless they are on leave or prevented from attending by illness or other serious reasons duly explained to the President, to hold themselves permanently at the disposal of the Court.

Article 24

1. If, for some special reason, a member of the Court considers that he should not take part in the decision of a particular case, he shall so inform the President.

2. If the President considers that for some special reason one of the members of the Court should not sit in a particular case, he shall give him notice accordingly.

3. If in any such case the member of the Court and the President disagree, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 25

1. The full Court shall sit except when it is expressly provided otherwise in the present Statute.

2. Subject to the condition that the number of judges available to constitute the Court is not thereby reduced below eleven, the Rules of the Court may provide for allowing one or more judges, according to circumstances and in rotation, to be dispensed from sitting.

3. A quorum of nine judges shall suffice to constitute the Court.

Article 26

1. The Court may from time to time form one or more chambers, composed of three or more judges as the Court may determine, for dealing with particular categories of cases; for example, labor cases and cases relating to transit and communications.

2. The Court may at any time form a chamber for dealing with a particular case. The number of judges to constitute such a chamber shall be determined by the Court with the approval of the parties.

3. Cases shall be heard and determined by the chambers provided for in this Article if the parties so request.

Article 27

A judgment given by any of the chambers provided for in Articles 26 and 29 shall be considered as rendered by the Court.

Article 28

The chambers provided for in Articles 26 and 29 may, with the consent of the parties, sit and exercise their functions elsewhere than at The Hague.

Article 29

With a view to the speedy despatch of business, the Court shall form annually a chamber composed of five judges which, at the request of the parties, may hear and determine cases by summary procedure. In addition, two judges shall be selected for the purpose of replacing judges who find it impossible to sit.

Article 30

1. The Court shall frame rules for carrying out its functions. In particular, it shall lay down rules of procedure.

2. The Rules of the Court may provide for assessors to sit with the Court or with any of its chambers, without the right to vote.

Article 31

1. Judges of the nationality of each of the parties shall retain their right to sit in the case before the Court.

2. If the Court includes upon the Bench a judge of the nationality of one of the parties, any other party may choose a person to sit as judge. Such person shall be chosen preferably from among those persons who have been nominated as candidates as provided in Articles 4 and 5.

3. If the Court includes upon the Bench no judge of the nationality of the parties, each of these parties may proceed to choose a judge as provided in paragraph 2 of this Article.

4. The provisions of this Article shall apply to the case of Articles 26 and 29. In such cases, the President shall request one or, if necessary, two of the members of the Court forming the chamber to give place to the members of the Court of the nationality of the parties concerned, and, failing such, or if they are unable to be present, to the judges specially chosen by the parties.

5. Should there be several parties in the same interest, they shall, for the purpose of the preceding provisions, be reckoned as one party only.

Any doubt upon this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

6. Judges chosen as laid down in paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 of this Article shall fulfil the conditions required by Articles 2, 17 (paragraph 2), 20, and 24 of the present Statute. They shall take part in the decision on terms of complete equality with their colleagues.

Article 32

1. Each member of the Court shall receive an annual salary.

2. The President shall receive a special annual allowance.

3. The Vice-President shall receive a special allowance for every day on which he acts as President.

4. The judges chosen under Article 31, other than members of the Court, shall receive compensation for each day on which they exercise their functions.

5. These salaries, allowances, and compensation shall be fixed by the General Assembly. They may not be decreased during the term of office.

6. The salary of the Registrar shall be fixed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the Court.

7. Regulations made by the General Assembly shall fix the conditions under which retirement pensions may be given to members of the Court and to the Registrar, and the conditions under which members of the Court and the Registrar shall have their traveling expenses refunded.

8. The above salaries, allowances, and compensation shall be free of all taxation.

Article 33

The expenses of the Court shall be borne by the United Nations in such a manner as shall be decided by the General Assembly.

Chapter II: Competence of the Court

Article 34

1. Only states may be parties in cases before the Court.

2. The Court, subject to and in conformity with its Rules, may request of public international organizations information relevant to cases before it, and shall receive such information presented by such organizations on their own initiative.

3. Whenever the construction of the constituent instrument of a public international organiza-

tion or of an international convention adopted thereunder is in question in a case before the Court, the Registrar shall so notify the public international organization concerned and shall communicate to it copies of all the written proceedings.

Article 35

1. The Court shall be open to the states parties to the present Statute.

2. The conditions under which the Court shall be open to other states shall, subject to the special provisions contained in treaties in force, be laid down by the Security Council, but in no case shall such conditions place the parties in a position of inequality before the Court.

3. When a state which is not a Member of the United Nations is a party to a case, the Court shall fix the amount which that party is to contribute towards the expenses of the Court. This provision shall not apply if such state is bearing a share of the expenses of the Court.

Article 36

1. The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.

2. The states parties to the present Statute may at any time declare that they recognize as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning:

- a. the interpretation of a treaty;
- b. any question of international law;
- c. the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- d. the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

3. The declarations referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain states, or for a certain time.

4. Such declarations shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall transmit copies thereof to the parties to the Statute and to the Registrar of the Court.

5. Declarations made under Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and which are still in force shall be deemed,

as between the parties to the present Statute, to be acceptances of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice for the period which they still have to run and in accordance with their terms.

6. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 37

Whenever a treaty or convention in force provides for reference of a matter to a tribunal to have been instituted by the League of Nations, or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the matter shall, as between the parties to the present Statute, be referred to the International Court of Justice.

Article 38

1. The Court, whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as are submitted to it, shall apply:

a. international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states;

b. international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;

c. the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;

d. subject to the provisions of Article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

2. This provision shall not prejudice the power of the Court to decide a case *ex aequo et bono*, if the parties agree thereto.

Chapter III: Procedure

Article 39

1. The official languages of the Court shall be French and English. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in French, the judgment shall be delivered in French. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in English, the judgment shall be delivered in English.

2. In the absence of an agreement as to which language shall be employed, each party may, in the pleadings, use the language which it prefers; the decision of the Court shall be given in French and English. In this case the Court shall at the

same time determine which of the two texts shall be considered as authoritative.

3. The Court shall, at the request of any party, authorize a language other than French or English to be used by that party.

Article 40

1. Cases are brought before the Court, as the case may be, either by the notification of the special agreement or by a written application addressed to the Registrar. In either case the subject of the dispute and the parties shall be indicated.

2. The Registrar shall forthwith communicate the application to all concerned.

3. He shall also notify the Members of the United Nations through the Secretary-General, and also any other states entitled to appear before the Court.

Article 41

1. The Court shall have the power to indicate, if it considers that circumstances so require, any provisional measures which ought to be taken to preserve the respective rights of either party.

2. Pending the final decision, notice of the measures suggested shall forthwith be given to the parties and to the Security Council.

Article 42

1. The parties shall be represented by agents.

2. They may have the assistance of counsel or advocates before the Court.

3. The agents, counsel, and advocates of parties before the Court shall enjoy the privileges and immunities necessary to the independent exercise of their duties.

Article 43

1. The procedure shall consist of two parts: written and oral.

2. The written proceedings shall consist of the communication to the Court and to the parties of memorials, counter-memorials and, if necessary, replies; also all papers and documents in support.

3. These communications shall be made through the Registrar, in the order and within the time fixed by the Court.

4. A certified copy of every document produced by one party shall be communicated to the other party.

5. The oral proceedings shall consist of the hearing by the Court of witnesses, experts, agents, counsel, and advocates.

Article 44

1. For the service of all notices upon persons other than the agents, counsel, and advocates, the Court shall apply direct to the government of the state upon whose territory the notice has to be served.

2. The same provision shall apply whenever steps are to be taken to procure evidence on the spot.

Article 45

The hearing shall be under the control of the President or, if he is unable to preside, of the Vice-President; if neither is able to preside, the senior judge present shall preside.

Article 46

The hearing in Court shall be public, unless the Court shall decide otherwise, or unless the parties demand that the public be not admitted.

Article 47

1. Minutes shall be made at each hearing and signed by the Registrar and the President.

2. These minutes alone shall be authentic.

Article 48

The Court shall make orders for the conduct of the case, shall decide the form and time in which each party must conclude its arguments, and make all arrangements connected with the taking of evidence.

Article 49

The Court may, even before the hearing begins, call upon the agents to produce any document or to supply any explanations. Formal note shall be taken of any refusal.

Article 50

The Court may, at any time, entrust any individual, body, bureau, commission, or other organization that it may select, with the task of carrying out an enquiry or giving an expert opinion.

Article 51

During the hearing any relevant questions are to be put to the witnesses and experts under the conditions laid down by the Court in the rules of procedure referred to in Article 30.

Article 52

After the Court has received the proofs and evidence within the time specified for the purpose,

it may refuse to accept any further oral or written evidence that one party may desire to present unless the other side consents.

Article 53

1. Whenever one of the parties does not appear before the Court, or fails to defend its case, the other party may call upon the Court to decide in favor of its claim.

2. The Court must, before doing so, satisfy itself, not only that it has jurisdiction in accordance with Articles 36 and 37, but also that the claim is well founded in fact and law.

Article 54

1. When, subject to the control of the Court, the agents, counsel, and advocates have completed their presentation of the case, the President shall declare the hearing closed.

2. The Court shall withdraw to consider the judgment.

3. The deliberations of the Court shall take place in private and remain secret.

Article 55

1. All questions shall be decided by a majority of the judges present.

2. In the event of an equality of votes, the President or the judge who acts in his place shall have a casting vote.

Article 56

1. The judgment shall state the reasons on which it is based.

2. It shall contain the names of the judges who have taken part in the decision.

Article 57

If the judgment does not represent in whole or in part the unanimous opinion of the judges, any judge shall be entitled to deliver a separate opinion.

Article 58

The judgment shall be signed by the President and by the Registrar. It shall be read in open court, due notice having been given to the agents.

Article 59

The decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case.

Article 60

The judgment is final and without appeal. In the event of dispute as to the meaning or scope of the judgment, the Court shall construe it upon the request of any party.

Article 61

1. An application for revision of a judgment may be made only when it is based upon the discovery of some fact of such a nature as to be a decisive factor, which fact was, when the judgment was given, unknown to the Court and also to the party claiming revision, always provided that such ignorance was not due to negligence.

2. The proceedings for revision shall be opened by a judgment of the Court expressly recording the existence of the new fact, recognizing that it has such a character as to lay the case open to revision, and declaring the application admissible on this ground.

3. The Court may require previous compliance with the terms of the judgment before it admits proceedings in revision.

4. The application for revision must be made at latest within six months of the discovery of the new fact.

5. No application for revision may be made after the lapse of ten years from the date of the judgment.

Article 62

1. Should a state consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit a request to the Court to be permitted to intervene.

2. It shall be for the Court to decide upon this request.

Article 63

1. Whenever the construction of a convention to which states other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the Registrar shall notify all such states forthwith.

2. Every state so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by the judgment will be equally binding upon it.

Article 64

Unless otherwise decided by the Court, each party shall bear its own costs.

*Chapter IV: Advisory Opinions**Article 65*

1. The Court may give an advisory opinion on any legal question at the request of whatever body may be authorized by or in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations to make such a request.

2. Questions upon which the advisory opinion of the Court is asked shall be laid before the Court by means of a written request containing an exact statement of the question upon which an opinion is required, and accompanied by all documents likely to throw light upon the question.

Article 66

1. The Registrar shall forthwith give notice of the request for an advisory opinion to all states entitled to appear before the Court.

2. The Registrar shall also, by means of a special and direct communication, notify any state entitled to appear before the Court or international organization considered by the Court, or, should it not be sitting, by the President, as likely to be able to furnish information on the question, that the Court will be prepared to receive, within a time limit to be fixed by the President, written statements, or to hear, at a public sitting to be held for the purpose, oral statements relating to the question.

3. Should any such state entitled to appear before the Court have failed to receive the special communication referred to in paragraph 2 of this Article, such state may express a desire to submit a written statement or to be heard; and the Court will decide.

4. States and organizations having presented written or oral statements or both shall be permitted to comment on the statements made by other states or organizations in the form, to the extent, and within the time limits which the Court, or, should it not be sitting, the President, shall decide in each particular case. Accordingly, the Registrar shall in due time communicate any such written statements to states and organizations having submitted similar statements.

Article 67

The Court shall deliver its advisory opinions in open Court, notice having been given to the Secretary-General and to the representatives of Members of the United Nations, of other states and of

international organizations immediately concerned.

Article 68

In the exercise of its advisory functions the Court shall further be guided by the provisions of the present Statute which apply in contentious cases to the extent to which it recognizes them to be applicable.

Chapter V: Amendment

Article 69

Amendments to the present Statute shall be effected by the same procedure as is provided by

the Charter of the United Nations for amendments to that Charter, subject however to any provisions which the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council may adopt concerning the participation of states which are parties to the Statute but are not Members of the United Nations.

Article 70

The Court shall have power to propose such amendments to the present Statute as it may deem necessary, through written communications to the Secretary-General, for consideration in conformity with the provisions of Article 69.¹

INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS

Concluded by the Governments Represented at the United Nations Conference on International Organization

The governments represented at the United Nations Conference on International Organization in the city of San Francisco,

Having determined that an international organization to be known as the United Nations shall be established,

Having this day signed the Charter of the United Nations, and

Having decided that, pending the coming into force of the Charter and the establishment of the United Nations as provided in the Charter, a Preparatory Commission of the United Nations should be established for the performance of certain functions and duties,

AGREE as follows:

1. There is hereby established a Preparatory Commission of the United Nations for the purpose of making provisional arrangements for the first sessions of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council, for the establishment of the Secretariat, and for the convening of the International Court of Justice.

2. The Commission shall consist of one representative from each government signatory to the Charter. The Commission shall establish its own rules of procedure. The functions and powers of

the Commission, when the Commission is not in session, shall be exercised by an Executive Committee composed of the representatives of those governments now represented on the Executive Committee of the Conference. The Executive Committee shall appoint such committees as may be necessary to facilitate its work, and shall make use of persons of special knowledge and experience.

3. The Commission shall be assisted by an Executive Secretary, who shall exercise such powers and perform such duties as the Commission may determine, and by such staff as may be required.

¹ The Charter was signed by representatives of the following 50 countries: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippine Commonwealth, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

The above texts of the Charter and Statute, as well as that of the Interim Arrangements, are the drafts issued at San Francisco June 25, 1945.

This staff shall be composed so far as possible of officials appointed for this purpose by the participating governments on the invitation of the Executive Secretary.

4. The Commission shall:

a. convoke the General Assembly in its first session;

b. prepare the provisional agenda for the first sessions of the principal organs of the Organization, and prepare documents and recommendations relating to all matters on these agenda;

c. formulate recommendations concerning the possible transfer of certain functions, activities, and assets of the League of Nations which it may be considered desirable for the new Organization to take over on terms to be arranged;

d. examine the problems involved in the establishment of the relationship between specialized intergovernmental organizations and agencies and the Organization;

e. issue invitations for the nomination of candidates for the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court;

f. prepare recommendations concerning arrangements for the Secretariat of the Organization; and

g. make studies and prepare recommendations concerning the location of the permanent headquarters of the Organization.

5. The expenses incurred by the Commission and the expenses incidental to the convening of the first meeting of the General Assembly shall be met by the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland or, if the Commission so requests, shared by other Governments. All such advances from governments shall be de-

ductible from their first contributions to the Organization.

6. The seat of the Commission shall be located in London. The Commission shall hold its first meeting in San Francisco immediately after the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization. The Executive Committee shall call the Commission into session again as soon as possible after the Charter of the Organization comes into effect and whenever subsequently it considers such a session desirable.

7. The Commission shall cease to exist upon the election of the Secretary-General of the Organization, at which time its property and records shall be transferred to the Organization.

8. The Government of the United States of America shall be the temporary depositary and shall have custody of the original document embodying these interim arrangements in the five languages in which it is signed. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted to the governments of the signatory states. The Government of the United States of America shall transfer the original to the Executive Secretary on his appointment.

9. This document shall be effective as from this date, and shall remain open for signature by the states entitled to be the original Members of the United Nations until the Commission is dissolved in accordance with paragraph 7.

In faith whereof, the undersigned representatives having been duly authorized for that purpose, sign this document in the English, French, Chinese, Russian, and Spanish languages, all texts being of equal authenticity.

Done in the City of San Francisco, this twenty-sixth day of June, 1945.

Tentative Date For Final Plenary Session

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE¹

[Released by the United Nations Conference on International Organization June 20]

I have asked you to attend this special meeting of the Steering Committee so that I could inform the chairmen of all delegations without delay of an important development in our plans.

We had been hoping to end the Conference on Saturday, June 23. Several delegations have said that they would appreciate a brief postponement. There has also been unavoidable delay in completing the final details of technical committee and, therefore, of commission work. This has, in turn, delayed the final drafting by the Coordination Committee and the preparation of the five official language texts.

I am happy to be able to announce that I have

been in communication with President Truman on this subject and that he has arranged his schedule so as to postpone his arrival in San Francisco from the tentative date of Friday, June 22, to next Monday, June 25. I have met with the other three presidents of the Conference, and it is recommended that the Final Plenary Session of the Conference be held on the afternoon of Tuesday, June 26.

We can set this date with entire confidence since the Charter will be in draft form tonight and only technical and formal steps remain to complete our great enterprise. Full details of the closing schedule are still under consideration in the Executive Committee but will soon be ready for submission to the Steering Committee.

Friendship and Understanding Through Freedom of the Press

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO WILBUR FORREST

JUNE 14, 1945

DEAR MR. FORREST:

It was good to see you and your associates, Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, and Dean Carl W. Ackerman, of the School of Journalism at Columbia University, comprising the Freedom of the Press Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. I desire to thank you heartily for sending me a copy of the report which you will make to the A.S.N.E. and which you outlined to me in the course of a very interesting conference.

Just as my lamented predecessor wished you and your colleagues Godspeed when you started on your around the world mission in the interest of freer and better dissemination of news, so I was glad to welcome you home from an itinerary which I understand included the principal capitals of

Europe, the Orient, Australia and South America. I sincerely hope that the laudable purpose of your mission will be realized to the end that freedom of the press may become a vehicle of more sympathetic understanding and therefore closer friendship among the nations of the world.

The unhappy conflict of principles and policies which has sundered the world and threatened civilization through six tragic years emphasizes the need of continued cooperation among the governments and peoples of the United Nations. I hope your mission will contribute to that happy consummation. I shall look forward with keen anticipation to the study of your report.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

WILBUR FORREST, Esq.,

New York Herald Tribune,
New York, New York

¹Made at a meeting of the Steering Committee on June 20, 1945.

The Responsibility of Power

Address by ACTING SECRETARY GREW¹

[Released to the press June 23]

This new School of Advanced International Studies answers an urgent practical need. The choice of Washington as a background for your study of international relations was an act of wisdom and imagination. The choice of students with both a theoretical and a practical interest in foreign affairs is recognition of the new scope and character of relations among peoples. And the selection of a faculty who are at once artisans and students of history is nothing short of an inspiration.

Here in Washington there are many artisans but few students of history. Too many go about their business in this great storehouse of the living past with unseeing eyes and minds obsessed with the emergency of the moment.

You have had the privilege of living with both the present and the past on intimate terms—of listening to debates in the Congress that have shaped the course of history and then stepping across the street to the great library where Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and other historic documents of human freedom are housed; of passing from the Supreme Court down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Archives Building on which Confucius' admonition "Study the past" and Shakespeare's reminder that "What is past is prologue" are etched in stone.

I hope that, wherever you may be, your eyes and ears will never become insensitive to the reminders of history. I hope you will never lose the most precious gift this school has to offer—an understanding of the present founded on a sense of the past.

I spoke a moment ago of the new character of relations among peoples. To say that scientific progress in communications has changed the scope and content of foreign relations is perhaps to state a platitude. Yet there is danger that platitudes may be accepted without being fully understood. We are apt to take for granted the wartime de-

velopments in short-wave radio, facsimile newspapers, and international radio-photos. We have become accustomed to radio programs that circle the earth instantaneously and planes that span it in a matter of hours. "The Parliament of Man" is no longer a phrase but a fact. The volume of communication among governments is now but a tiny trickle compared with the mighty torrent of conversation among peoples.

In the same way, the whole concept of the foreign services of nations is in process of revision. The United States is, at the moment, represented abroad by some six million men and women. I venture to say that these representatives of ours in the uniform of the armed forces are doing more, in a brief space of time, to shape foreign attitudes toward the United States than all our diplomatic and commercial missions have done, or could have done, in the past 25 years.

Through them our friends and our enemies abroad are learning at first hand about America—its power and its character, its diversity and unity, its aims and intentions. The abnormal conditions under which they are learning these things, the fact that this sudden migration is temporary, makes no difference. For years to come the work of American civilians who follow in the wake of our armed forces overseas after the war will be conditioned by the impression our forces have left behind.

The effects of this current migration cannot be assessed in terms of the last war. We have no precedent with which to compare it. Instead of the two million men concentrated in the countries of western Europe in 1918, we have had during this war approximately three times that many Americans—both men and women—scattered over five continents and countless islands—from Burma to Brazil, from Iran to Iceland, from Aden to Australia. The total impact of their presence is the sum of millions of small impacts, millions of seemingly unimportant situations—the ragged Indian urchin sitting on the steps of the Taj Mahal, singing "Deep in the Heart of Texas" and collecting coins from delighted Yanks; the wounded Russian heroes examining with intense interest the

¹ Delivered at Washington on June 23, 1945 on the occasion of the first commencement of the School of Advanced International Studies, Foreign Service Educational Foundation.

wrapping on a package of American cigarettes; the sergeant from Kansas billeted with an English family, helping to wash the dishes and sharing his chewing gum and his chocolate ration with the children. These things, as well as the policies being determined in Washington and San Francisco, are the stuff of which international relations are made. And these things will have to be studied and taken into account from here on.

Those of us who go abroad in the Foreign Service of the United States in the months and years ahead will be carrying on from where our service men and women leave off, and like them, each of us will hold in our hands responsibility for a tiny segment of the foreign relations of the United States, whether we go in the service of our Government, or to buy or sell abroad, to study or teach, to write or to travel.

In the light of these new facts, let us reexamine the old question, "How shall we represent America abroad? How can we best serve the interests—the highest interests—of our people?" That is a complicated question to which I think there is a simple answer. It has been a tradition and an age-old principle of the Foreign Service of our Government that we can represent America best by representing it truthfully. But I think it is not always fully realized that in order to do that we must *know* America: not just the State or region in which we have lived; not just the segment of society in which we have been raised; but the broad sweep of the land and the complex of human beings who live and work in it.

From now on I wish it were possible for anyone who undertakes to represent America abroad, in any capacity whatsoever, to have traveled the length and breadth of this Nation; to have understood the meaning of the melting-pot in American life, the power that is uniquely American of welding people of many national origins together in the service of an idea; to have appreciated the contribution of many European cultures to our own national culture; to have experienced our sense of unity and our capacity for infinite variety within that unity. In other words, I want everyone who represents America to have the *feel* of America in his bones, as well as the love of America in his heart. Remember, you who today cross the threshold of this school and pass into the outer world, that America will be judged by what you say, what you write, what you do, and what you are. Your responsibility is very great.

All this our representatives in foreign lands should have. All this is, of course, in addition to a sound knowledge of our domestic history and foreign relations, as well as a high competence in the field of work that sends them abroad.

Perhaps this is too much to ask of the people who represent America, but I believe we should ask it. The dangers that lie ahead, the problems that confront us in our dealings with the rest of the world, demand it. The new position and the new role of the United States in the community of nations make it essential.

That position is the position of the most powerful nation on earth; that role is, as I see it, a role of service and of leadership—the only role that befits a leading player on a world stage.

We should not be afraid to talk about our power as a Nation, but we should take care neither to whisper nor to shout about it, neither to boast nor to apologize. Our power is a fact. It must be recognized by ourselves, as it is recognized by the rest of the world. Our friends abroad fear not that we will recognize the fact, but that we shall fail to recognize it. For that failure would undoubtedly lead to our failure to accept the responsibilities that power inevitably imposes.

The tragedies of history are the tragedies of the misuse of power, and historians never tire of pointing out that the decline of nations and civilizations inevitably and logically follows from the fatal possession of great power without the exercise of great leadership. Arnold Toynbee, one of the wisest of modern historians, warns that "Power is a force which is perhaps rarely brought into play without being abused. In any event, the tenure of power is an abuse in itself, if those who hold the power have lost the faculty of leadership."

In a mood of discouragement over the trials of the 1919 peace conference, Harold Nicolson bewailed the fact that "human nature can, like a glacier, move but an inch or two in every thousand years". I would not wish to quarrel with a distinguished diplomatist, nor to quibble about small measurements, but I cannot share the pessimism or the fatalism that that observation implies.

Human nature does move. Men and nations do learn by hard experience. We are and shall remain the masters of our fate.

I have always subscribed to the philosophy of man's free will, and in this belief I am encouraged by the findings of historians such as H. A. L.

Fisher, who spent a lifetime journeying through the past and returned with this final testament:

"Men wiser and more learned than I", he said, "have discerned in history a plot, a rhythm, a predetermined pattern. These harmonies are concealed from me. I can see only one emergency following upon another as wave follows upon wave, only one great fact with respect to which, since it is unique, there can be no generalizations, only one safe rule for the historian: that he should recognize in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen. This is not a doctrine of cynicism and despair. The fact of progress is written plain and large on the page of history. But progress is not a law of nature. The ground gained by one generation may be lost by the next. The thoughts of men may flow into the channels which lead to disaster and barbarism."

But history provides us also with examples of survival of virile and mature cultures and peoples through the wise use of power. We have, among others, the example of the British people, who would be the first to acknowledge their own mistakes in the period of acquiring and assimilating power, but who have learned and practiced moderation and concession in retaining and consolidating their power.

We can profit, we must profit, by the lessons of history, but in the end we shall have to solve the problems of our own power in our own particular way. That we shall solve them I do not for a moment doubt. But I believe that these problems of power confront the American people with the greatest challenge in all their history.

If, as I have suggested, our first duty lies in recognizing the power of the United States, our second duty is to understand in what it consists. In its most obvious form, of course, it consists in military power—in planes, ships, tanks, guns, and men who are skilled in the organization and use of them. We have also, what is even more important under conditions of modern warfare, a vast military potential in terms of industrial plant and scientific and technological skill.

We have been accused of many things, but never of being a militaristic people. It would therefore be not only untrue but mischievous to suggest that we shall ever use our military power to threaten the peace of the world. We shall use it as we have used it in two world wars—in the service of law and justice and human freedom—in other words,

in the service of peace on earth, without which we cannot serve our own highest interests.

We are about to enter into a compact with the other peace-loving nations to make sure that military power—*ours and theirs*—will be used and used only for that high purpose. Our military power exists. It will continue to exist as a force for the common good. It will be a threat only to the violators of international peace and justice.

If our military power is the product of grim necessity, our economic power provides us with a glorious opportunity. But let us not confuse economic power with gadgets, machines, and assembly lines. It is essentially a human, not a material thing. It consists in the vitality, the creative genius, the capacity for patient, hard work of a people. If our land had been devastated in this war, if our entire industrial plant had been leveled to the ground, it would have meant the interruption, but not destruction of our economic progress. And that, incidentally, is one of the problems we face in conquered Germany and Japan: how to prevent the Germans and Japanese, who are also productive people, from ever again acquiring economic power which might be used again as a threat to world peace.

We know the extent of our economic power; we know that it can and must be used to strengthen the peace of the world. In the hands of the American people, it must be used in the first instance to raise our own standard of living and our own level of employment. Never again can we afford to have domestic depressions which cause untold misery at home and are felt around the world.

More than that, we must plan our production of goods and services and their distribution abroad in such a way as to enable our friends, whose countries have been devastated, to get back on their feet again, to employ their own people so that they can produce goods for us, and buy goods from us in ever increasing volume. In other words, we must find ways of cooperating with our friends so as to increase the volume of world trade and promote the general prosperity, month by month and year by year. If in the years to come we should think narrowly and in purely national terms of the so-called "danger of competition from abroad" there will be no revival in Europe, no sound prosperity at home, no growth of world trade, nothing but recurrent depression, political instability, and perhaps another world conflict.

After the last war we embarked on the danger-

ous and inconsistent policy of erecting high tariff walls and insisting on payment of war debts, while lending huge sums abroad. We were a creditor nation, but we refused to act like one. Now we are again in the position of a creditor, and we propose to face up to the implications of that fact. The extension of the system of our reciprocal trade agreements is one proof of that intention. The plan for a world bank and an international stabilization fund agreed upon at Bretton Woods constitutes another step in the right direction—a long step. We shall pursue the path of economic cooperation through the Organization of the United Nations, whose Economic and Social Council promises to be one of the most hopeful contributions to the future well-being of nations.

On the basis of our past record, our economic power is distrusted and even feared abroad. It will be to our own interest to dispel those fears, not by statements of good intentions, but by concrete examples of cooperation.

The war has, I think, clearly demonstrated the extent of our economic power to produce, to convert and reconvert, and to distribute what we produce in bottoms and planes of our own making.

What we do not fully understand, what in my opinion we have never appreciated and understood, is the extent of our moral and spiritual power among other peoples. In order to do that, we would have to do what is virtually impossible—see ourselves as others see us.

Each foreigner's idea of America is, of course, conditioned by his personal experience, by his contact with the printed or spoken word, with the motion pictures, by his personal acquaintance with an American, or, in the cases of millions of Europeans, by the experiences of a brother, a cousin, or an uncle who has emigrated to the United States.

At the risk of over-generalizing, I would say that, in the main, the rest of the world has the impression that we are tremendously big, incredibly rich, and extraordinarily lucky. There is an idea abroad, a rather remarkable idea, that we have achieved this happy state not through hardship, stamina, and courage but through the workings of divine providence—not by hard work but by sheer good luck. And that is one reason why our friends abroad are not unduly impressed by expressions of high ideals and principles that may come to them from this side of the Atlantic.

They are, however, deeply impressed by the qualities of character and integrity which they

have found in some of our leaders. They are also impressed by acts of statesmanship—concrete acts that have shown concrete results. I should like to give you, as examples, the power of two men and two actions.

One example is the regard, verging on reverence, that was felt for Franklin D. Roosevelt by millions of humble people in every part of the world. These people looked upon our late President as their friend. They saw him as the champion of all humanity in a hard and ruthless world. And, in the eyes of these foreigners, all other Americans somehow shared in the reflected glory of the great man whom they had chosen as their President.

General Eisenhower is another example of an American who has earned the affectionate admiration of millions of Europeans. One might expect him to be worshiped primarily as a great architect of victory, but the people have shown remarkable insight by recognizing the simplicity and humanity of the man no less than the genius of the general.

It is, of course, natural that the moral power of America should become personified in our leaders. But I have in mind also two acts of statesmanship which have enhanced that power. I am thinking of the policy of Philippine independence and the way in which it has contributed to our prestige in the Orient. I am thinking also of the Lend-Lease Act, whose passage historians may well point to as one of the decisive victories of this war—even though the United States was not at war at the time. For by that act America—with all her moral, economic, and military power—underwrote the defeat of the Axis and the survival of freedom in the world.

Lend-lease was, in my opinion, a classic example of the use of power to strengthen the hands of our friends, the peace-loving peoples, and to insure the downfall of the enemies of peace. Only by such uses of power, by such examples of statesmanship and enlightened self-interest, can we hope to preserve the greatness of America as a people and an idea.

It may be said that it is only in moments of great national peril that nations are capable of bold and imaginative acts of statesmanship—acts such as lend-lease and Prime Minister Churchill's offer of union to France. But the fact is, there is a continuing peril in dealings among nations—peril that a selfish, ill-considered action, or neglect

to act, or denial of responsibility by a nation may start a chain of events that leads to disaster. We cannot for a moment relax our vigilance. We cannot for a moment surrender to what Winston Churchill called "the craven fear of being great." Power cannot for a moment be left idle like money in an old sock.

It must be used constantly and wisely to fortify the friends of peace everywhere in the world, and thereby to fortify ourselves.

The problem of the exercise of power over a defeated enemy is complicated in the extreme, but it is relatively simple compared with the problem of blending the power of friends and allies. General Eisenhower developed a successful pattern for doing this in wartime. We shall have to learn how to do it in creating peace. The road will be hard. If we should ever become faint-hearted or cynical at any step along the way, then our power would become a curse instead of a blessing to mankind.

Abraham Lincoln was speaking even more for our time than for his when he said, "the dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves and then we shall save our country."

I wish for every one of you what you yourselves may conceive as success. If you build your lives on the unmovable foundation of principle, if you set your objectives high and swerve not from the road that leads to their attainment, and if, in pursuing those objectives, you keep constantly before you the long-range picture of life, the right kind of success will be yours.

Good luck!

Radiotelephone Service Between United States And Great Britain

[Released to the press June 21]

The State Department has announced that the wartime restrictions on the radiotelephone service between the United States and Great Britain, which have heretofore limited the use of the circuit to Government and press calls only, will be relaxed, effective June 23, and the service will again become available for general public use.

Approval by Senate of Trade-Agreements Bill

Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press June 20]

The approval by the Senate of the trade-agreements bill, with the increased authority and without amendment of any kind, is most encouraging. With this enabling legislation, the Government of the United States is now in a position to exercise, in the common good, a high degree of leadership for the establishment of sound international trade policies so vital for ourselves and the rest of the world.

We shall seek the widest possible agreement among the nations for common policies in the field of trade relations which will provide, on an advantageous reciprocal basis, enlarged opportunities for mutual trade and economic development.

Formation of New Government In Italy

Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press June 21]

This Government is happy to learn that Italy has succeeded in forming a new Government in which the newly liberated north joins hands with the south and all the parties of the Committee of National Liberation participate. This union of forces, under the presidency of Signor Ferruccio Parri, a leader of the resistance movement—an outstanding soldier in the long fight for Italian freedom from the early days of Fascism to the last days of German invasion—is a good augury for the new Government as it faces the many problems ahead. Not least among these is the historic task of preparing the machinery whereby the people of Italy can at long last freely and fully express their political will. Upon the successful functioning of that machinery will depend the reality of Italian democracy. The people of the United States will therefore follow its progress with interest and sympathy.

Presidential Succession

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS¹

[Released to the press by the White House June 19]

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES: I think that this is an appropriate time for the Congress to reexamine the question of the Presidential succession.

The question is of great importance now because there will be no elected Vice President for almost four years.

The existing statute governing the succession to the office of President was enacted in 1886. Under it, in the event of the death of the elected President and Vice President, members of the Cabinet successively fill the office.

Each of these Cabinet members is appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. In effect, therefore, by reason of the tragic death of the late President, it now lies within my power to nominate the person who would be my immediate successor in the event of my own death or inability to act.

I do not believe that in a democracy this power should rest with the Chief Executive.

In so far as possible, the office of the President should be filled by an elective officer. There is no officer in our system of government, besides the President and Vice President, who has been elected by all the voters of the country.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, who is elected in his own district, is also elected to be the presiding officer of the House by a vote of all the Representatives of all the people of the country. As a result, I believe that the Speaker is the official in the Federal Government whose selection, next to that of the President and Vice President, can be most accurately said to stem from the people themselves.

Under the law of 1792, the President Pro Tempore of the Senate followed the Vice President in the order of succession.

The President Pro Tempore is elected as a Senator by his State and then as presiding officer by the Senate. But the members of the Senate are not as closely tied in by the elective process to the

people as are the members of the House of Representatives. A completely new House is elected every two years, and always at the same time as the President and Vice President. Usually it is in agreement politically with the Chief Executive. Only one third of the Senate, however, is elected with the President and Vice President. The Senate might, therefore, have a majority hostile to the policies of the President, and might conceivably fill the Presidential office with one not in sympathy with the will of the majority of the people.

Some of the events in the impeachment proceedings of President Johnson suggested the possibility of a hostile Congress in the future seeking to oust a Vice President who had become President, in order to have the President Pro Tempore of the Senate become the President. This was one of the considerations, among several others, which led to the change in 1886.

No matter who succeeds to the Presidency after the death of the elected President and Vice President, it is my opinion he should not serve any longer than until the next congressional election or until a special election called for the purpose of electing a new President and Vice President. This period the Congress should fix. The individuals elected at such general or special election should then serve only to fill the unexpired term of the deceased President and Vice President. In this way there would be no interference with the normal four-year interval of general national elections.

I recommend, therefore, that the Congress enact legislation placing the Speaker of the House of Representatives first in order of succession in case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability to act of the President and Vice President. Of course, the Speaker should resign as a Representative in the Congress as well as Speaker of the House before he assumes the office of President.

If there is no qualified Speaker, or if the Speaker

¹ Published as H.Doc. 246, 79th Cong.

fails to qualify, then I recommend that the succession pass to the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, who should hold office until a duly qualified Speaker is elected.

If there be neither Speaker nor President Pro Tempore qualified to succeed on the creation of the vacancy, then the succession might pass to the members of the Cabinet as now provided, until a duly qualified Speaker is elected.

If the Congress decides that a special election should be held, then I recommend that it provide for such election to be held as soon after the death or disqualification of the President and Vice President as practicable. The method and procedure for holding such special election should be provided now by law, so that the election can be held as expeditiously as possible should the contingency arise.

In the interest of orderly, democratic government, I urge the Congress to give its early consideration to this most important subject.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

June 19, 1945.

Victory on Okinawa

MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL TO THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House June 22]

I wish to offer my sincere congratulations upon the splendid victory gained by the United States Army, Fleet and Air Force in Okinawa. This strength of will power, devotion and technical resources applied by the United States to this task, joined with the death-struggle of the enemy of whom 90,000 are reported to be killed, places this battle among the most intense and famous of military history. It is in profound admiration of American valour and resolve to conquer at whatever cost might be necessary that I send you this tribute from your faithful ally and all your British comrades-in-arms who watch these memorable victories from this island and all its camps abroad. We make our salute to all your troops and their commanders engaged.

Cordell Hull Honored By Peruvian Government

[Released to the press June 23]

Former Secretary of State Cordell Hull was honored by Peru when Pedro Beltrán, Peruvian Ambassador in Washington, presented to him on June 22 the decoration of the "Grand Cross of the Orden del Sol" which had been conferred on Mr. Hull by the Peruvian Government. The Grand Cross of the Orden del Sol is the highest award of the Peruvian Government.

The presentation ceremony was a very simple and informal one. Mr. and Mrs. Hull received Ambassador Beltrán at the Naval Hospital in Bethesda. Ambassador Beltrán stated that the Government of Peru wished to confer the Grand Cross of the Orden del Sol on Mr. Hull in recognition of the latter's great leadership in behalf of democracy and his outstanding contribution to the successful development of the inter-American system. He said that Mr. Hull has a high place in the hearts and in the esteem of the Peruvian people.

In thanking the Ambassador, Mr. Hull asked him to convey to the President, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and other officials of the Peruvian Government his deepest appreciation for the honor shown him. He recalled that he had first enjoyed Peruvian friendship and hospitality during a visit to Lima in 1934. He stated that he always had received the whole-hearted support of Peru, and referred particularly to Peru's great contribution to the important successes attained at the Eighth Inter-American Conference in Lima in 1938. He referred in warm terms to the high degree of culture in Peru. Turning to the subject of the inter-American system, Mr. Hull emphasized his often repeated thesis that the only sound foundation on which to build is the constant adherence to democratic principles and moral precepts that too often are ignored by unscrupulous leaders who seize political power. Mr. Hull mentioned the recent free and orderly elections in Peru as a most encouraging example of the objectives toward which the American republics are moving with ever greater unity and purpose.

Geopolitics at Munich

By

RUSSELL H. FIFIELD¹

IN A WORLD WAR involving the continents and oceans of the earth the American people have learned the importance of a knowledge of global geography. The price of victory is written over the graves of Americans from Okinawa to Anzio and from Guadalcanal to Normandy. Adolf Hitler used geography as a vehicle in an effort to conquer the world. The German school of geopolitics has exerted a great influence in the history of the Third Reich. The accepted founder of the school of thought was a German professor of geography, Friedrich Ratzel. The word *Geopolitik* or *geopolitics* was coined by a Swedish professor of political science, Rudolf Kjellén. Many of the ideas accepted by the German geopoliticians were borrowed from a distinguished English geographer, Sir Halford Mackinder. The outstanding leader of German geopolitics was Major General Professor Doctor Karl Haushofer.

I

Definition and Scope

THE MEN OF MUNICH—those who specialized in geopolitics—have defined the subject as follows: "Geopolitics is the science of the earth relationship to political developments. It is based on the broad foundations of geography, especially political geography, which is the science of political organisms in space and their structure . . . It guides practical politics to that point where it must take the step into the unknown. Only if inspired by geopolitical knowledge, can this step be successful. Geopolitics will and must become the geographical conscience of the state".² Dr. Karl Haushofer has asserted that the word *Politik* is not preceded by the prefix *geo* by accident. The prefix relates politics to the soil.

The Men of Munich have drawn a distinction between geopolitics and political geography. Otto Maull, once a co-editor of the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, has asserted that geopolitics considers the spatial requirements of a state but political geo-

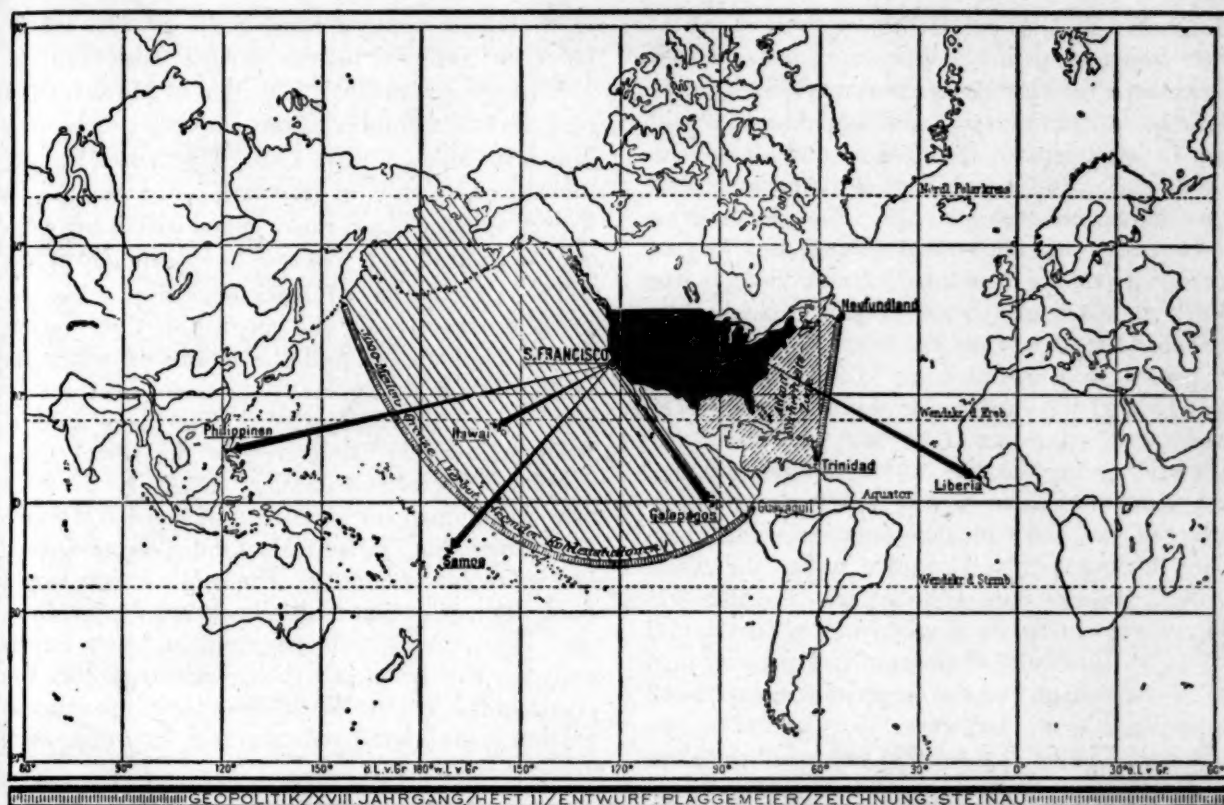
graphy studies only the space conditions of the country. In other words the German geopoliticians claimed that *geopolitics* is dynamic in action while *political geography* is static in scope. The Men of Munich have attempted to apply the principles and methods of geopolitics to "branch" sciences such as psychology, medicine, and jurisprudence. The category of *Geo-Wissenschaften* was broadened to include *Geo-Psychologie*, *Geo-Medizin*, and *Geo-Jurisprudenz*.

Geopolitical concepts in Germany centered around a number of subjects. The ideas of the organic state, living space or *Lebensraum*, and the organic frontier have received considerable attention in German literature. One definition asserted that geopolitics was the scientific basis of the art of political action in the conflict of state organisms for *Lebensraum*. The political power of the state has been analyzed by the Men of Munich. One definition claimed that geopolitics was really the doctrine of the power of the state on earth.

A very important idea back of the political power of the state was its location with reference to a specific concept of the distribution of land masses and ocean spaces. In accordance with relative power, a state was classified as renovating or decadent. The expression of the power of the state in wartime involved the study of *Wehr-Geopolitik* or war geopolitics. The German geopoliticians have used the studies of an American admiral, Alfred T. Mahan, as basic source material on sea power (see map 1). A Prussian general, Karl von Clausewitz, an authority on land power, inspired subsequent students of military affairs. Dr. Haushofer has quoted the definition of war given by Clausewitz, namely, that war is a con-

¹ Mr. Fifield is an officer in the Foreign Relations Section of the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Affairs, Department of State.

² Karl Haushofer, Erich Obst, Hermann Lautensach, and Otto Maull, *Bausteine zur Geopolitik* (Berlin, 1928), p. 27.



MAP I

German Illustration of Admiral A. T.
Mahan's Ideas From *Zeitschrift für
Geopolitik*, November 1941, p. 593.

tinuation of policy with other means. No writer on air power assumed the stature of either Mahan or Clausewitz with the Men of Munich.

II

Ratzel, Kjellén, Mackinder

FRIEDRICH RATZEL (1844-1904), a professor of geography at the Polytechnic Institute of Munich and later at the University of Leipzig, developed political geography to a point where geopolitics could easily appear. He was an intimate friend of Max Haushofer, the father of Karl Haushofer. Karl used to accompany the older men on their walks along the Isar River. Friedrich Ratzel was a teacher of Miss Ellen C. Semple, an outstanding geographer of the United States. However, Karl Haushofer accepted many more of Ratzel's ideas than did Ellen Semple. Ratzel himself remained aloof from the problems of German foreign policy.

The German professor taught that the state was a living organism with the biological necessity of growing in order to survive. He began his *Politische Geographie* first published in 1897 with a chapter on "The State as an Organism Fixed in the Soil". He asserted on one occasion that a state decayed as the result of a declining conception of space. In 1896 Ratzel published an article in *Petermanns Mitteilungen* on "The Laws of the Territorial Growth of States" in which he listed seven laws of state growth. The fourth of these asserted that "The frontier is the peripheric organ of the state". Ratzel believed that a frontier was not a drawn line but a changing zone of assimilation. Frontiers were dynamic, reflecting the expansive force of aggressive countries. Boundary questions often led to war because a boundary might be an obstacle to the growth of the state.

The idea of *Lebensraum* is logically associated with the theory of the organic state. Both Karl

Haushofer and Adolf Hitler received many of their ideas regarding *Lebensraum* from Ratzel. However, Professor Ratzel was only a link in the chain of thought relative to *Lebensraum*. Friedrich List, a friend of Henry Clay and a leader in the formation of the *Zollverein* or German customs union, believed that the economic progress of Germany depended upon a large territory of Europe from the North and Baltic Seas to the Black and Adriatic Seas. Von Treitschke was probably the first to use the word *Lebensraum* in its present political meaning. In the first World War Friedrich Naumann stressed the idea of *Mittel-Europa*, extending from the North Sea to the Adriatic, from Flanders to the Pripet Marshes, and from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Hitler enlarged the German *Lebensraum* to include a Euro-African political empire under the "New Order", the economic counterpart of which was the concept of *Grossraumwirtschaft* or continental economy. The idea of German *Lebensraum* provided camouflage for the imperialistic expansion of the Reich over a large area.

Rudolf Kjellén (1864-1922) expanded the ideas of Ratzel and applied them to world politics. Kjellén was a pro-German Swede of the first World War and a professor of government at the University of Göteborg. Dr. Haushofer and a group of followers enlarged, reedited, and published some of Kjellén's works. The Swedish professor taught in his *Staten som Lifsförm* first published in Stockholm in 1916 that the state was not an artificial or accidental conglomeration of human beings united by legalist formulas. On the other hand, the state, deep-rooted in historic and actual realities, had grown organically and had an appearance of the same basic type as an individual man or a living being. He believed that the most important attribute of the state is power. Power was more important in the existence of the state than law because law can be maintained only by power. Kjellén foresaw the emergence of a few giant states in the world with Germany as one of them. The thinking of the Men of Munich was greatly influenced by the works of Kjellén.

Extremely influential in the development of German geopolitics was Sir Halford Mackinder—through no intention of his own. He has been a professor of geography at the University of London, a member of Parliament, a director of the London School of Economics, and vice-president

of the Royal Geographical Society. Dr. Haushofer has referred to him as "the most brilliant English geopolitician". The Men of Munich have reprinted on a number of occasions the world map drawn by Mackinder in 1904. Haushofer has acknowledged a debt of gratitude to Mackinder as a geographer. The German geopolitician has even quoted from Ovid: "*fas est et ab hoste doceri*".

The contribution of Mackinder lies in his political perspective on the geographic distribution of the land masses and the bodies of water on earth. His first important statement on the subject came in a lecture entitled "The Geographical Pivot of History" delivered to the Royal Geographical Society on January 25, 1904. In 1919 as a warning to the statesmen of the Paris peace conference, Sir Halford Mackinder wrote *Democratic Ideals and Reality*. The Anglo-Saxon world paid little attention to the book but Major General Haushofer saw in the volume many implications. Furthermore, the geostrategy of the Nazis in the second World War took into consideration some of the points stated in *Democratic Ideals and Reality*.

Mackinder visualized the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa as a World-Island, forming one land mass. He noted that nine twelfths of the world was water and only three twelfths land. The World-Island had two twelfths of this land, and the other land masses—chiefly North America, South America, and Australia—one twelfth. The World-Island had fourteen sixteenths of the population, and the other land areas two sixteenths.

The key to the World-Island was the pivot area or the Heartland. This area extended from the "broad isthmus between the Baltic and Black Seas" to eastern Siberia with the subsequent exclusion of Lenaland. The Heartland included most of the Iranian Upland in the southwest and much of the Mongolian Upland in the southeast. The pivot area was not vulnerable to sea power from the surrounding water or world ocean. From a political viewpoint the Heartland was largely Russian both in Europe and in Asia, but Western China, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and Iran have been included except for a narrow coastal strip in the case of the latter two.

Around the Heartland was an arc of Coastland defined as an area of drainage into navigable seas. The Coastland included all of Europe except the

Heartland portion of Russia. The monsoon coastal areas of Asia were also included in the Heartland. The offshore islands were the British and Japanese homelands while the outlying islands were chiefly the Americas and Australia. Africa south of the Sahara Desert was considered a southern but secondary Heartland connected by the bridge of Arabia to the northern or main Heartland. Mackinder stated his thesis in three main points:

"Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland:

"Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island:

"Who rules the World-Island commands the World".³

The English geographer believed firmly in the primary importance of the Heartland in Eurasia. He recognized the strategic location of Germany in the peninsula of Europe with reference to the Heartland. The north, central, and west areas of the Heartland were a vast plain or Great Lowland broken only by the Ural Mountains. This vast lowland extended into the plains of northern Germany. Although Europe in the past had been frequently invaded from the steppes of Asia, why could not the direction of invasion be reversed? In 1904 Mackinder asserted in his January address before the Royal Geographical Society: "The oversetting of the balance of power in favour of the pivot state, resulting in its expansion over the marginal lands of Euro-Asia, would permit of the use of vast continental resources for fleet-building, and the empire of the world would then be in sight. This might happen if Germany were to ally herself with Russia". In July 1943 in an article in *Foreign Affairs*, Mackinder stated that his Heartland idea was "more valid and useful today than it was either twenty or forty years ago". In the same article he also stated that "All things considered, the conclusion is unavoidable that if the Soviet Union emerges from this war as conqueror of Germany, she must rank as the greatest land Power on the globe. Moreover, she will be the Power in the strategically strongest defensive position. The Heartland is the greatest natural fortress on earth. For the first time in history it is manned by a garrison sufficient both in number and quality".

³ Halford J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality* (London, 1919), p. 194.

III

Haushofer

DR. KARL HAUSHOFER called the attention of many Germans to the political significance of the writings of Ratzel, Kjellén, and Mackinder. Haushofer was born in Munich in 1869. He received a commission in the First Bavarian Artillery Regiment at the age of 19. In 1908 he was sent on a mission to Japan where he served as a military observer for the German General Staff. This period was one of the most formative of his life. He not only studied the language and institutions of Japan but also he became an expert on the Pacific and the Far East. On his trip to Japan he traveled by way of the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. On his return he traveled across Russia from Vladivostok to the Reich.

In 1913 Haushofer published his first book on Japan entitled *Dai Nihon: Greater Japan's Military Power, World Role, and Future*. He received his doctorate *summa cum laude* from the University of Munich. The title of his dissertation is indicative of his literary style: *The German Share in the Geographical Opening Up of Japan and the Sub-Japanese Earth Space, and Its Advancement Through the Influence of War and Defense Politics*. By the end of the first World War Haushofer had been promoted to the rank of a major general in the Army of the Kaiser. After the war he laid aside his uniform to teach political geography and military history at the University of Munich.

In 1924 Haushofer founded at Munich the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*; Otto Maull and Erich Obst were co-founders of the magazine. The publisher of the *Zeitschrift* from the first was Kurt Vowinkel. Later Dr. Albrecht Haushofer, the elder son of the General, began to write regularly for the *Zeitschrift*, but the other son, Heinz Konrad, did not become so conspicuous in geopolitics as his brother or father. The *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, published monthly, was intended chiefly for the lay reader. The magazine was devoted to a discussion of geopolitical matters. The issues contained "factual" articles and "dynamic" maps concerning all parts of the world. Albrecht Haushofer specialized in the Atlantic region; his father wrote reports on the Indo-Pacific area. The top organization of geopolitical research was the Institute of Geopolitics (*Institut für Geopolitik*) at Munich under the direction of Karl and

Albrecht Haushofer. A large staff of specialists—geographers, demographers, economists, sociologists, biologists, medical men, law professors, and political and military experts—carried on the research. The strength and weaknesses of a certain area (*Raum*) were compared with the location (*Lage*) of the region with reference especially to Germany.

Dr. Haushofer himself has published more on geopolitics than any other person. His articles in the *Zeitschrift*, his own books, and his publications in collaboration with others reveal the industry of the professor. The geographic area in which he was most interested was the Indo-Pacific realm. His *Die Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozeans: Studien über die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Geographie und Geschichte* (*Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean: Studies on the Relationship Between Geography and History*), first published in 1924, is his most important book. The subjects of his books vary: *Zur Geopolitik der Selbstbestimmung* (*Geopolitics of Self-Determination*), *Grenzen, in ihrer geographischen und politischen Bedeutung* (*Frontiers: Geographical and Political Significance*), *Wehr-Geopolitik* (*War Geopolitics*), and *Weltpolitik von Heute* (*World Politics of Today*).

The personal relation between Hitler and Haushofer was very limited. Haushofer was a university professor; Hitler had never been to college. Haushofer was a major general in the Army of the Kaiser; Hitler was a corporal in the first World War. Haushofer had traveled widely in the Pacific and Far East; Hitler had seen only a part of Europe. After the first World War both worked in the Bavarian city of Munich, one in politics, the other in geopolitics. The link between the two men was Rudolf Hess, aide-de-camp to Haushofer during the war and an intimate friend of Hitler after the war. While Hitler was in jail at Landsberg on the Lech, following the Beer Hall Putsch of 1923, he dictated *Mein Kampf* to Rudolf Hess. The eccentric Hess introduced Hitler to Haushofer. On a number of occasions Haushofer was Hitler's guest in jail. After Hitler came into power in 1933, Haushofer was appointed to the presidency of the German Academy (*Die Akademie zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung und zur Pflege des Deutschtums*) for three years, and the Nazis furthered the work of the Institute at Munich. An important barrier between Hitler and Haushofer was the fact that Mrs. Haushofer

was a Jewess. This leading German geopolitician has never been directly identified with the Nazi Party. His influence on the Fuehrer has been more indirect than direct.

Certain portions of *Mein Kampf* reflect the influence of Dr. Haushofer. Hitler clearly indicated his belief in the need of Germany for living space in order to become a world power. In the Fuehrer's chapter on "Eastern Orientation or Eastern Policy" the geographic ideas of Kjellén and Haushofer are noticeable in a number of places. Hitler, for instance, stated:

"Only a sufficiently extensive area on this earth guarantees a nation freedom of existence . . . State frontiers are man-made and can be altered by man . . . Germany will either be a world power or will not be at all. To be a world power, however, it requires that size which nowadays gives its necessary importance to such a power, and which gives life to her citizens . . . Never forget that the most sacred right in this world is the right to that earth which a man desires to till himself, and the most sacred sacrifice that blood which a man spills for this earth".⁴

However, the same chapter has statements which Haushofer could not have supported. For example, the comments of the Fuehrer on race reflected the influence of Alfred Rosenberg.

The influence of the Men of Munich on the Third Reich cannot be ignored. The General Staff of Germany had been abolished by the Treaty of Versailles ending the first World War. The Institute of Geopolitics gathered, through its studies on the various areas of the world, a wealth of material that could be utilized by a future general staff. The German generals of Hitler achieved many of their successes by a careful consideration of geography. For instance, the men in Marshal Rommel's Afrika Korps were reputedly drilled on the Baltic coast while they lived in overheated barracks and had a diet adaptable to desert warfare. From a consideration of the terrain, Haushofer was convinced as early as 1939 that the British naval base at Singapore was vulnerable from land. Many of the ideas of the German geopoliticians became a part of the global strategy of the Third Reich.

The Men of Munich influenced to a certain extent the foreign policy of Germany, especially up

⁴ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941), pp. 935, 949, 950, 964.

to the time of the invasion of the Soviet Union. The *Zeitschrift* skillfully predicted many events. Issues of this magazine have been devoted to certain countries which soon occupied the spotlight of European and even world attention. In November 1934 Hans Stöger wrote in the *Zeitschrift*: "Austria is located in an extremely dangerous position from a military point of view; its boundaries are defenseless to the attack of its neighbors, and it threatens, partly through its own fault, to become the battlefield of the next world war. The military weakness of the Austrian space is the reason for this danger, which can be averted only if a great power again takes over the protection of this Austrian territory". In March 1938 Hitler moved into Austria. In May 1938 Albrecht Haushofer asserted in the *Zeitschrift*: "A Czech national state within the boundaries of the Czechoslovakia of today, was thinkable only at a time when German power did not exist". The Munich settlement occurred in September of that year; the Nazi protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia took place the next March. Predictions were based partly on geopolitical manometers. Certain geographic, political, and economic symptoms were alleged to gage pressures and indicate probable events. The change in the location of a national capital, the growth of urbanization, or the study of a power field (*Kraftfeld*) where the drives of world-powers conflict are examples of geopolitical manometers.

Dr. Haushofer believed that geopolitics had to teach the man in the street to think geopolitically and the leaders of Germany to act geopolitically. The Institute of Geopolitics at the University of Munich became the outgrowth of Karl Haushofer's seminar. The Institute drew upon the Association of Workers in Geopolitics (*Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Geopolitik*), an organization of scholars all over the Reich. The Institute became closely related to the educational system of the country. The German Peoples' Map Service (*Volksdeutscher Kartendienst*) was the agency of the Institute to publish and distribute maps and atlases at low prices for popular use. Albrecht Haushofer became head of the Geopolitical Seminar in the Institute of Politics in Berlin (*Hochschule für Politik*), which trained all men entering the foreign service of the Reich. The National Bureau of Spatial Organization (commonly called *Der Reichsbüro*) was established in 1935, and it worked in conjunction with the Institute of

Geopolitics. Karl Haushofer in addition to his temporary presidency of the German Academy also became president of the Association of Germans Abroad. He formed this organization in 1938 at Stuttgart to keep Germans abroad loyal to the fatherland.

IV

Control of the Heartland

A DESIGN FOR WORLD CONQUEST has never been written in any one document by the Men of Munich. The published material, however, does present the general ideas of the German geopoliticians on the future of the Reich in the world. The first major objective was the consolidation of the political forces of the Heartland of Mackinder. This objective primarily concerned the Soviet Union; secondary were the control of Middle Europe (*Zwischen-Europa*) and Western Europe and the acquisition of African colonies. The struggle for the Heartland, it was known, might result in war and might become a test of land power. In this respect Haushofer has definitely stated that the infantryman still decides the battle by taking possession of the space. The second major objective was the destruction of the sea power of the maritime states that opposed the Reich. This objective primarily concerned the Anglo-Saxon countries. Haushofer has realized the importance of sea power; he had carefully studied the writings of the American admiral, Alfred T. Mahan, especially the book entitled *The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660-1783*. The German geopolitician noted that the conflict between oceanic and continental powers is a theme that runs through history. He stated that the most decisive of all political trends in the world is the drive of a country toward the sea. The Men of Munich believed that in the end world power was predicated upon both land power and sea power, implemented by air power.

The attitude of Haushofer toward the Soviet Union was motivated by a strong desire to form a combination of powers, consisting of Germany, the Soviet Union, Japan, China and India under German leadership. Although Haushofer believed that the Heartland should be consolidated, he never made a final prescription for German policy toward the Soviet Union. The domination of the Heartland might be effected by "colonization, amalgamation, or conquest." Since the Men of Munich thought of Germany as located between

the "pirates of the steppe" and the "pirates of the sea," Germany should never fight on two fronts. In addition, the English Channel was a historic barrier between the continent of Europe and the British Isles, but Asia and Europe were one land mass. Johannes Kühn in the *Zeitschrift* significantly asserted in February 1940: "The old, geographically impossible conception of a Europe reaching to the Urals should have been discarded long ago. The gigantic continent, consisting of Europe and Asia together, possesses no decisive vertical natural boundaries."

The signing of the non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union on August 23, 1939 and the neutrality pact between Japan and the Soviet Union on April 13, 1941⁵ was hailed by Haushofer. The German geopolitician probably had his misgivings about the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. A country having one sixth of the land area of the world and extending in an unbroken land mass for a distance equal to that from San Francisco to London, possessed defense in depth and could sell space to gain time. Haushofer was convinced that in wartime large areas aid defense, but small areas invite attack. Napoleon's invasion of Russia is the most quoted case-history in German geopolitics. Clausewitz in his *Campaign of 1812 in Russia* had believed that Napoleon was defeated because he could not master the spaciousness of Russia. Alfred Franke stated in the *Zeitschrift* in July 1934 that in a war against the Soviet Union, the primary aim must be the encirclement and destruction of the Soviet Armies before they could retreat intact. The *Keil und Kessel* strategy of the Nazis was an attempt to overcome the spatial advantages of the Russians.

As a preliminary step to the consolidation of the Heartland, the Men of Munich believed that Germany must secure the military routes to the Soviet Union, lying across the territory of Middle Europe. Johannes Kühn asserted in the *Zeitschrift* in February 1940 that "a belt of peoples [*Völkergürtel*] runs from Finland to Greece as an eastern border for Europe . . . These peoples are not co-workers in the creation of European culture but are all overshadowed by European culture . . . They fall under the European law of geopolitics." Germany could find a market for manufactured goods and a source for foodstuffs in Middle Europe. Trade agreements could be utilized to acquire political control. Otto Maull has said that complete economic penetration produces the same

result as territorial occupation. Austria was the first object of German expansion; Czechoslovakia was next to fall under Nazi domination. Bismarck had believed that whoever controlled Bohemia-Moravia could dominate central Europe. The Nazi attack on Poland led to the formal outbreak of the European phase of the second World War. Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria fell into the German camp without war; Greece and Yugoslavia were subdued by force of German arms.

The mastery of the marginal lands of western Europe was secondary to the consolidation of the Heartland. The Men of Munich believed that the small western states like Denmark, Belgium, and the Netherlands were doomed to inevitable disappearance. Haushofer has said that small countries have a constantly smaller chance of independent survival. France was the only real obstacle in the west. The Men of Munich had clearly noted the influence of geography on the foreign policy of France. Wulf Siewert asserted in the *Zeitschrift* in November 1935: "The conflict between maritime and continental interests runs like a red thread through the whole of French history . . . In the long run, continental politics has always won over maritime interests". In December 1935 he wrote in the *Zeitschrift*: "France will defend its position in the Mediterranean as tenaciously as its place in Middle Europe so long as it thinks like Charles de Gaulle: 'The sword is the axis of the world, and greatness can bear no subdivision!'" In general, the Men of Munich discounted the military threat of France to Germany. France was considered a stagnating country in contrast to the renovating state of Germany. France was alleged to be biologically and politically decaying.

The German geopoliticians also placed little stress on Italy. Albrecht Haushofer pointed out the limitations of Italy in the *Zeitschrift* in April 1935: "The lack of large areas and the external vulnerability of Italy, a complete lack of important raw materials, and the dependence for access on the good-will of powerful neighbors are facts so simple and unambiguous that Italy can scarcely forget that for itself alone it possesses only a very small freedom of action".

Meanwhile the Men of Munich emphasized the importance of colonies to the Reich. The German *Lebensraum* was considered too small without the

⁵ BULLETIN of Aug. 26, 1939, p. 172, and Apr. 29, 1945, p. 812.

addition of colonies. Two numbers of the *Zeitschrift* in 1939 were devoted to the colonial question (*Kolonialfrage*). A new branch of geopolitics was advocated—*Kolonialgeopolitik*. The Men of Munich had in mind chiefly the colonial areas of Africa. The Strait of Gibraltar and the "waist" of the Mediterranean from Italy to Tunisia were possible avenues of advance. Since the German geopoliticians believed that Africa began at the Pyrenees, Spain and Portugal were very important. Ewald Banse had written in 1932 in his *Raum und Volk im Weltkrieg* that Spain was a natural ally of Germany against France, that the rise of both powers depended upon the fall of France, and that the first interest of the Reich should be to make Spain strong again. Germany also recognized the strategic location of the Lisbon-Azores-Cape Verde triangle under the Portuguese flag in the seaways of the Atlantic. North, West, and Central Africa presented the line of least resistance for the colonial expansion of the Reich. Dakar was an "Atlantic Gibraltar" in French Senegal (see map 2). The return of Southwest Africa and East Africa was ardently desired. The Boers in the Union of South Africa were considered a part of the German nationality.

V

Indo-Pacific Area

KARL HAUSHOFER in his *Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozeans* has declared that the most important geopolitical area in the world is the Pacific. The Men of Munich believed that the realm of the Pacific was the scene of the next great turning point in world history. Dr. Haushofer wrote in the *Zeitschrift* in January 1925: "A giant space is expanding before our eyes with forces pouring into it which, in cool matter-of-factness, await the dawn of the Pacific age, the successor to the aging Atlantic, the over-age Mediterranean and the European era". President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States had written in 1905: "I believe that our future history will be more determined by our position on the Pacific facing China, than by our position on the Atlantic facing Europe".⁶

From his days as a military observer in the Far East, Haushofer remained partial to Japan. He saw in the youthful imperialism of Japan "the rhythmical breathing of a continuously expand-

ing life organ".⁷ Over a decade before Japan marched into Manchuria in 1931, he wrote: "I am convinced that the Empire of the Rising Sun will continue to be successful in its conquest of space as long as it observes the rules of jiu-jitsu and, as before, avoids the dangers of an unbridled expansion".⁸

Dr. Haushofer noted the success of the Japanese leaders in convincing their people that they were suffering from population pressure. He once admitted that it was impossible to determine whether a country was overpopulated. However, population pressure could become a valuable propaganda asset in the struggle for expansion. Some of the German geopoliticians used the naked formula of population over area to prove the existence of population pressure. It was even asserted that Australia could support a population of 220 millions.

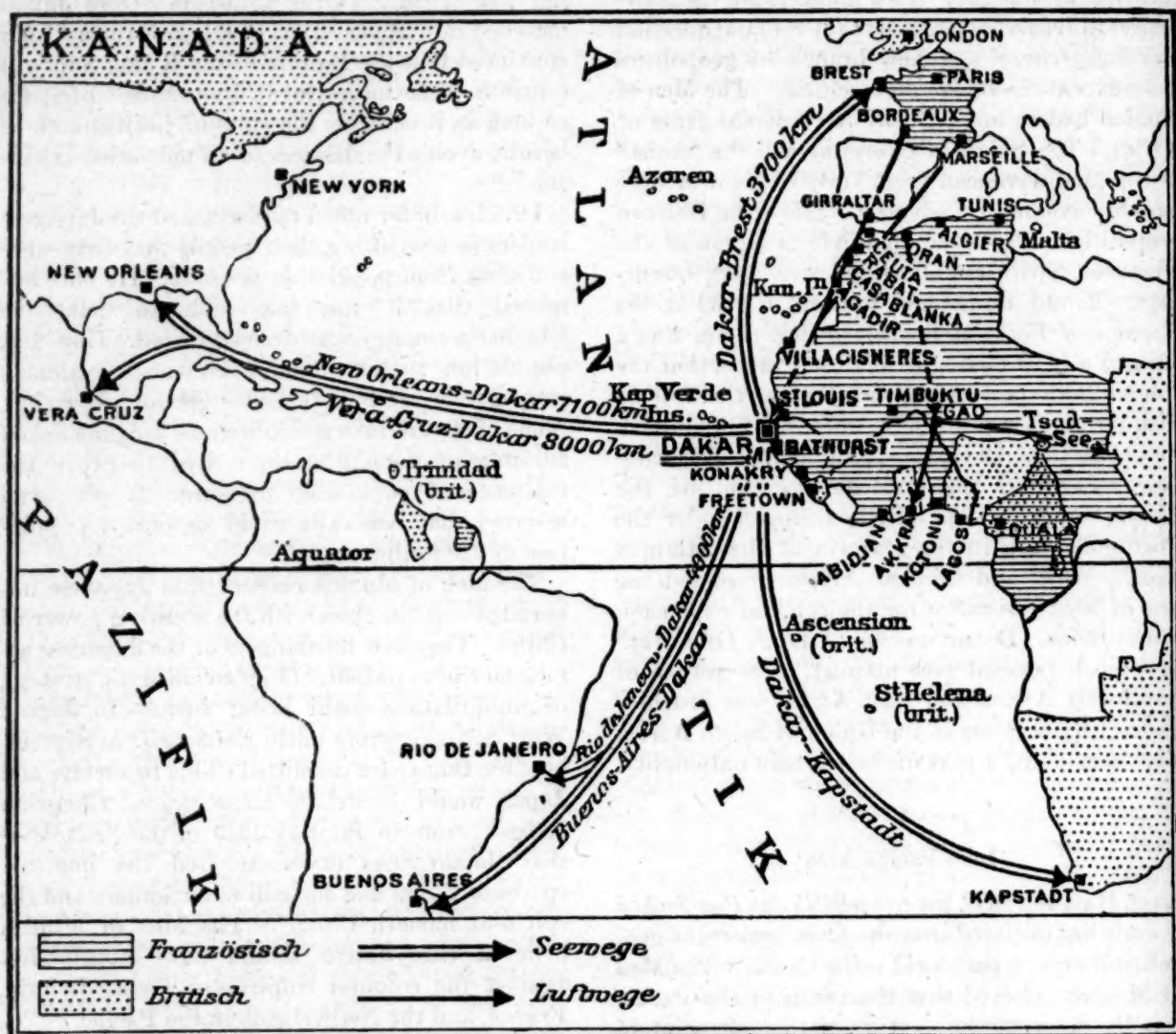
The Men of Munich realized that Japanese imperialism would clash with the resisting power of China. They saw the dangers of the Japanese attack on China in 1937. Only an energetic strategy of annihilation could bring success to Japan. Wolf Schenke wrote in the *Zeitschrift* in September 1938 that space permitted China to survive and Japan would do well to make peace. Christian Kröger wrote in January 1939 in the *Zeitschrift* that Japan "has underestimated the immense spaces of China and she will never understand the spirit of modern China". The Men of Munich believed that Japan should have struck first against the colonial empires of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands in the Pacific.

Dr. Haushofer advocated a close relation between Japan and Germany. He based his idea partly on the fact that the Western powers in the first World War had ejected Germany from the Pacific. The Germans in Europe and the "900 million southeast Asiatics" were considered "comrades of destiny". In his *Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozeans* he wrote that the struggle of the Indians and the Chinese for freedom from foreign control and from capitalistic pressure agreed with the secret dreams of central Europe. Haushofer also favored cooperation between the Soviet Union and Japan. He once stated that: "The less friction there is in the relations between

⁶ Karl Haushofer, *Das Japanische Reich in seiner geographischen Entwicklung* (Vienna, 1921), p. 43.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

⁸ Tyler Dennett, *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War* (New York, 1925), p. 3.



MAP II

German Illustration of the Strategic Location of Dakar From Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, September 1940, p. 421.

Japan and Russia, the less chance there will be for the Anglo-Saxons and the Chinese to impose a policy of divide and rule." However, in December 1938 he significantly stated in the *Zeitschrift* that Vladivostok was the only place which the Japanese Navy was not able to control. From here bomber squadrons and submarines could be sent against Japan's most vulnerable arteries and

* Karl Haushofer, *Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozeans* (Berlin, 1924), p. 142.

communication centers. Furthermore, he said that "the possibility of cooperation between Soviet Russia and the United States on the northern shores of the Pacific takes shape from month to month".

The Men of Munich did not ignore the role of the United States in the Pacific. They believed that the territorial expansion of the United States in that area was based on superior naval power. As early as the summer of 1938 the German geo-

politicians counted on the eventuality of an attack at Pearl Harbor. In July of that year Klaus Mehnert in the *Zeitschrift* spoke of the easy conquest of the island of Oahu by an attacking naval force which acquired air superiority by the use of heavy bombers and light pursuit planes. Dr. Haushofer has asserted that wars in the Pacific will begin without a formal declaration so that one country may get the advantage of surprise. The German geopoliticians opposed any initial declaration of war on the principle that the stigma of aggression was attached to it.

The Men of Munich also believed that the Philippines and Hawaii had no organic connection with the United States. They stressed the presence of the Japanese minority in the Hawaiian Islands. The East Asiatics were reconquering the islands anthropo-geographically. In the August 1940 *Zeitschrift* Haushofer wrote: "Kjellén pointed to the difficulty in the Pacific, that the United States and Japan are the only Great Powers that have never gone through the test of defeat. Iyeyasu once wrote: 'Woe to him who has never learned the experience of being conquered, who only knows the high flood of victory'." The Men of Munich never wanted to surrender completely to Japan all German interests in the Pacific. In the minds of some of them was the belief that the final war for world mastery would come in the Pacific realm.

VI

Anglo-Saxondom

SINCE THE SECOND MAJOR OBJECTIVE of the Men of Munich was the destruction of the sea power of the leading maritime states, the Anglo-American countries were the objects of attention. With the consolidation of the Heartland under the Germans and with the aid of the Japanese, the defeat of the Anglo-Americans could be planned. However, Germany would have to gain sufficient sea power to supplement her land and air power.

The German geopoliticians looked upon the British Isles as the basic representative of sea power. Hitler in *Mein Kampf* advocated an alliance with England in order to pursue an aggressive Eastern policy. Haushofer remarked in his *Weltpolitik von Heute* in 1934 that the Anglo-Saxon statesmen were still able to think in terms of great spaces and times. Until the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Germany in 1939,

Haushofer was guarded in his statements about the British. Most of the Men of Munich were convinced that the British Empire was in a state of gradual disintegration. Great Britain was no longer the mistress of the seas; the British Navy could no longer defend the Empire against every foe. The development of air power posed a menace; the home islands did not have a continental base with defense in depth; base areas had become more important than base points like Hong Kong and Gibraltar. The Statute of Westminster, giving the dominions equal status with the mother country, was considered a sign of disintegration; the peoples of Asia were determined to throw off the British rule; the British people did not have "space mastery" in many areas under the flag.

The British Empire interfered with the "pan"-concept that had been discussed by the Men of Munich. The "pan"-concept of the German geopoliticians was considered a device for organizing the world into larger geographic units. Haushofer himself wrote a book entitled *Geopolitik der Pan-Ideen*. "Pan"-concepts have occurred often in pan-European, pan-Asiatic, and pan-American movements in the world.

The United States was not given much attention by the Men of Munich. The *Zeitschrift* devoted less time to the Western Hemisphere than to the Old World, with Colin Ross writing much of the material on the New World. He even remarked in March 1935 in the *Zeitschrift* that "The America of today is tired and old, amazingly old".

Dr. Haushofer himself was more interested in the World-Island and in the Pacific than in the Western Hemisphere. He studied the "Pacific face" of the United States more than the Atlantic. In the development of American foreign policy he has praised the Monroe Doctrine as a brilliant application of geopolitical principles. In October 1938 Haushofer asserted in the *Zeitschrift* that one cannot yet predict where the United States is going to meddle. "Europe, Asia, and Africa may have to pay the bill but most signs point to the Pacific and the South Seas". In September 1940 the *Zeitschrift* asserted in an unsigned article: "The German people as a whole have few pleasant memories of the United States. The less they see and hear of her the better." A month before Pearl Harbor the *Zeitschrift* contained a feature article written by Siegfried Plaggemeier and entitled "Imperial-

ism of the U.S.A." with a subtitle of "Admiral A. T. Mahan, the Father of American Naval Imperialism".

The Men of Munich expressed an interest in the economic, political, and social institutions of Latin America. Haushofer was especially interested in the Pacific state of Chile. However, few maps on South America were published in the *Zeitschrift*, and little material has appeared on Latin America in comparison with the studies on the Old World.

At the high tide of Axis aggression in 1942 the Germans were planning on a meeting in the Middle East. One arm of the Nazi pincers reached Stalin-grad in the Soviet Union, and the other arm reached El Alamein near Alexandria, Egypt. The Japanese were established in Burma in southeastern Asia and in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Indian Ocean. If the Germans and the

Japanese could have met in India, China would have been practically severed from the Anglo-American countries of the West, and the Soviet Union would have been practically isolated except for the water route to Murmansk. If China and the Soviet Union had collapsed, the Axis could then have turned upon Great Britain and the United States. In many respects the Germans followed the ideas of the Men of Munich; in other respects the Nazis deviated from the teachings of Dr. Haushofer.

Geopolitics in the German definition contains many ideas that should perish with the Third Reich. On the other hand, geopolitics in the broad sense of the word has many concepts that are worthy of careful consideration. Benjamin Disraeli once said: "At last the best informed one wins".

Third Anniversary of Soviet-American Mutual-Aid Agreement

EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U.S.S.R. AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press June 20]

There follows an exchange of messages between Vyacheslav M. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the conclusion of the Soviet-American agreement concerning the principles applicable to mutual assistance in the prosecution of the war against aggression:¹

JUNE 11, 1945

I send you my best wishes and expression of gratitude on the occasion of the third anniversary of the conclusion of the Soviet-American agreement concerning the principles applicable to mutual assistance in the prosecution of the war against aggression. It is fitting to remember on this day that you, as a prominent figure in the direction of the Lend-Lease program have done so much in furnishing the Red Army with arms, war matériel and food supplies. The extent of aid and the effective organization of the entire matter played an important part in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany. The common struggle of the people and army of the Soviet Union and the United States against our mutual enemy in Europe laid

the foundation for the strengthening and future development of friendly relations between our two countries in the interest of a guarantee of permanent peace and international security.

V. M. MOLOTOV

JUNE 15, 1945

I very much appreciate your message on the occasion of the third anniversary of the Soviet-American mutual aid agreement. I am proud to have had a part in the organization and administration of the Lend-Lease program. The carrying out of this program involved, in one way or another, every American citizen and I know that your generous expression of the effectiveness of the Lend-Lease program in our common war effort will be as gratifying to them as it is to me. The defeat of Germany is an accomplished fact, but our common struggle for the establishment of peace and security has only begun. I am convinced that the development of the friendly relations between our two countries is essential if we are to achieve that great purpose together.

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, Jr.

¹ For text of the agreement, see BULLETIN of June 13, 1942, p. 532.

Democratic Process at San Francisco

Address by CHESTER S. WILLIAMS¹

[Released to the press June 21]

The United Nations Conference at San Francisco was unique in many ways. It was convened in the midst of a world war to produce a Charter providing machinery to maintain future peace and to deal with the problems of the peace. During the previous six months the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals drafted by the four powers were debated by the peoples of the United Nations. These Proposals, constituting a "working paper", were minutely examined and hundreds of suggestions for improvements were offered by experts and amateurs, by leaders of powerful organizations and ordinary citizens, by soldiers and preachers and housewives and teachers and war workers. Never have so many participated in formulating a fundamental document.

This Conference was unique, too, because it was built around the hard core of United Nations' experience in cooperation. Over the war years the nations represented at San Francisco had patiently built a common front against a common enemy. They had learned to make common plans, agree on practical strategy, pool their resources, divide up responsibilities, and to frustrate the enemy efforts to split them apart.

Moreover, they had considerable experience in making plans together for the future. Behind San Francisco lay a series of United Nations conferences dealing with special problems: Hot Springs on food and agriculture, Atlantic City on relief and rehabilitation, Bretton Woods on currency and finance—to name three major ones. Many of the personalities at San Francisco who had met together in these other conferences were able to draw upon a background of practical experience in consultation and agreement. Most of the delegates from the American republics came fresh from a highly successful conference at Mexico City dealing with problems of this hemisphere.

Thus the Conference rested upon a foundation of Proposals, widely discussed, and a body of practical experience in collaboration.

The plans for San Francisco were unique, too. The Conference was held not in the old world but in the new; not in a palace but in a civic center; not in secret but in full public view. Delegates of the nations, great and small, put forward their views from the platform of the Opera House not only to their fellow delegates but to a large audience of newsmen and commentators, of representatives of organized groups, of men and women from the armed forces, of cooks and college presidents. Their words were often carried to all parts of the world by radio. Motion-picture cameras made a pictorial record.

For days while the Conference was being organized to begin its work delegates delivered speeches on what they hoped might be achieved. They criticized certain provisions in the Proposals and made suggestions for improvements. They even debated crucial questions in public sessions, voted and accepted the democratic decision. In scores of press conferences they submitted themselves to the questions of newsmen and analysts from all parts of the world.

To use the phrase of Roscoe Drummond of the *Christian Science Monitor*, the Conference sought "an open charter, openly charted".

Your chairman has asked me to discuss in some detail an experiment in applying the democratic process which was attempted at San Francisco. This American experiment brought representatives of national organizations into rather intimate relation with the official Delegation, advisers and technical experts. In speaking about it, I wish to make clear at the outset that the particular way in which it was handled does not constitute a precedent. It was carried on by the American method of trial and error—and we made many notes on the errors.

Behind this experiment was the quest for a more satisfactory answer to the question: How can the experience of wide-spread participation in waging

¹ Delivered at the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Tamiment Social and Economic Institute at Camp Tamiment, Pa., on June 21, 1945. Mr. Williams is Assistant Chief of the Division of Public Liaison, Office of Public Affairs, Department of State.

a people's war be carried over to the task of building a people's peace?

During the war the cooperation between government and private organizations touched almost every phase of the struggle. On matters of production the representatives of labor and industry consulted with government at every turn. Representatives of educational bodies met often to consider training problems and adapting educational institutions to war needs. Agricultural, scientific, trade, religious, veteran, and women's organizations participated in a system of two-way communication. They learned about the problems first-hand and offered advice from their specialized knowledge and experience.

After the conference at Dumbarton Oaks a national organization interested in foreign affairs suggested that it would like to invite representatives of many national groups to meet with Mr. Stettinius and other officers of the Department of State to discuss the Proposals. Such a meeting was held at the Department in November. This was the first of a series of conferences involving scores of national organizations.

The representatives attending these meetings not only listened to answers to their questions, but expressed their own views. They went back home and after reflection wrote what they thought to the Secretary and other officers. They communicated with their constituents through periodicals, newsletters, speaking tours, and local or regional conferences. And from the grass roots came more letters, resolutions, and suggestions. People took seriously Secretary Hull's request that they test the Proposals in the crucible of public discussion and let the Department know wherein they were found wanting.

The demand for copies of the Proposals, pamphlets about them, qualified speakers, and radio discussion programs exceeded everyone's expectation. And people were not merely reading and discussing what the four powers had proposed for future peace and security. They were expressing dissatisfaction with this or that provision and offering their own suggestions for improvement. A representative of a national organization with a membership of over 3,000,000 said at one conference: "We aren't here to cooperate with the State Department, but to get the State Department to cooperate with us." She was expressing the feeling that those who were losing sons and husbands and even daughters and sisters in this war have

a primary stake in making and keeping the peace.

When the members of the American Delegation met in Washington prior to the opening of the conference in San Francisco, they were provided with huge volumes containing organized collections of comments and suggestions covering each chapter and section of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. These comments were gathered from the press, letters addressed to the White House and the Department, and resolutions passed by all sorts of organizations. They supplemented the basic text which the American delegates studied and discussed for more than two weeks.

Soon after the United Nations Conference was announced to meet in San Francisco, organizations began to inquire how they might carry on the two-way communication at San Francisco. Such an idea raised many problems: transportation, accommodations, the make-up of the American Delegation and its staff and to what extent it could effectively consult with representatives of organizations.

Many different schemes for attempting such an experiment were explored. Finally, in the interest of facilitating intimate and informal discussion, it was decided to invite a limited number of national organizations, constituting a cross-section, to designate consultants. There were 42 on the final list representing labor, business, agriculture, veterans, law, women, education, religion, civic, and international peace groups. Recognizing that scores of other important organizations would want to participate, the Department planned a public-liaison program for their representatives. About 200 additional organizations found a way to send representatives or named local leaders in San Francisco.

Advance planning to deal with the unpredictable is a difficult thing to do. For the most part the program had to be improvised to fit the circumstances as they developed. From the beginning the representatives of the organizations took part in planning the program. Three or four times a week members of the American Delegation, advisers and panels of technical experts met with the consultants to discuss Conference developments.

The problems of the American Delegation were explained and the advice and suggestions of the consultants sought. Around the table sat leaders of organizations with 30 to 40 million members representing practically every economic, social, and political interest. Many of these leaders came

from speaking tours which had given them an intimate sense of popular feeling and thinking. All of them had ways of knowing how their members viewed things of importance to them. The organizations had responded to the invitation by sending their most experienced leaders, presidents, commanders, executive secretaries, directors. It was a distinguished group of Americans whose advice at the crucial stages of the Conference deliberations could help to guide the American Delegation.

Frequently, Secretary Stettinius or some other representative of the American Delegation would report on a decision made and explain the reasons for it, answering the questions of the consultants. Day by day this group of representatives watched the Charter take shape and tested the new decisions with their incisive questions. Through the eyes of the American Delegation they tried to see and understand the positions taken by other delegations, better to comprehend the essential compromises.

Sometimes meetings were held at the request of a group of representatives eager to get consideration for their point of view before the die was cast. Consultants with common interests would get together to draft proposals or suggestions on pending issues. These were carefully considered by the American Delegation. Often in the midst of a meeting a member of the Delegation would ask a consultant to submit in writing the views he had expressed extemporaneously so that they might be read by the entire Delegation.

No attempt was made to organize the representatives of the organizations to agree on anything or to take action together. Each organization maintained its individual status. Often they disagreed. The arguments on both sides of a proposition were aired, and the American Delegation weighed the arguments in deciding where it should stand in the negotiations. The reasoning and the evidence put forward were important. No one can judge how much it all counted in the final results for one cannot measure accurately the exact ingredients of a decision.

One thing is certain: the American Delegation was profoundly influenced by the work of the representatives of all the organizations and especially by the consultants. Secretary Stettinius said to the consultants in late May: "There is no question but that there are many things you have helped us on of great importance, and I think that you will find that many specific things have found their

way into the Charter as a result of this activity that might otherwise not have been in the final expression."

Senator Vandenberg said: "We all deeply appreciate the work you have done and the able suggestions and assistance you have given us from time to time and I am very hopeful (I am still reserving judgment until the completed Charter is available for over-all judgment)—I am very hopeful that between us we may find that we have succeeded in creating a plan which will promise a larger measure of stabilized peace with justice in a free world of free men."

While there were disagreements between representatives of the organizations which provided that flash of illumination characteristic of reasoned debate, there was also a large area of agreement. If I interpret the trend of the discussion correctly, these people wanted moral purpose written into the Charter to define the object of the use of force. They wanted the concept of "justice and international law" embedded in the final document. They sought definite machinery to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms in addition to the favorable phrases. They pressed for strongest possible safeguards and advantages for dependent peoples and for machinery that would move them toward self-government as rapidly as possible. They urged that the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council be given greater scope and opportunity to deal with war-breeding social and economic conditions.

At one point the area of agreement among the representatives of business, labor, agriculture, and education was demonstrated in a communication making specific recommendations to the American Delegation. In brief, these representatives proposed amendments to do four things: (1) provide for conferences of major national and international non-governmental organizations with the Economic and Social Council so that this agency may be kept close to the peoples of the United Nations; (2) insure that specialized international organizations such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Monetary Fund and Bank, and UNRRA are coordinated by the Economic and Social Council so that they do not overlap or promote contrary policies; (3) include the promotion of educational as well as cultural cooperation in the scope of the Economic and Social Council thus facilitating exchange and consulta-

tion among educators of the world; and (4) establishment of an interim secretariat to prepare preliminary studies and recommendations on the work of the Organization. Consultants from many other organizations subscribed to these recommendations.

In addition to these rather intimate meetings of consultants a series of forum discussions were arranged at an auditorium in the Public Health Building near the Opera House for representatives of all organizations. These meetings were held five days a week. They were off-the-record discussions led by members of the American Delegation, advisers, international-affairs experts, consultants, and correspondents. Here again the two-way communication system operated. Representatives of organizations not only asked questions for information but expressed their views on pending issues as well.

The more than 200 organizations with representatives at San Francisco carried on a reportorial program which is only partially known. Some of them prepared special news-letters daily or weekly to distribute to their local leaders or their membership. They used their regular channels of communication to report on and interpret the proceedings. Most of them planned speaking tours, and many of them spoke at meetings on the Pacific coast arranged by their local affiliate during their sojourn in San Francisco.

One striking thing about these representatives of private groups to me was their avid interest in Conference documents. We arranged to make public documents available to them daily at the Consultants' Lounge in the Opera House and at the public-liaison center in the Public Health Building. Not only did they collect the documents; they studied them and their discussion in the meetings demonstrated this fact.

None of these representatives acting as consultants or observers had their transportation or expenses paid for by the Government. They came at their own expense because they and their organizations were deeply interested in the problem of making a successful beginning toward peace and world progress.

Yet, I think they had no illusions about what might be accomplished merely by the drafting of a good Charter. They recognized that the peoples of the United Nations with a determination to struggle for peace as they did for victory could make any Charter work increasingly well. But

without that generous will to work and sacrifice for peace the most perfect Charter would break down. More than anything else, they felt the need for understanding the complex issues confronting our country as it takes a larger and larger role in foreign affairs.

Underlying the State Department's response to the expressed interests of these organizations for participation in the deliberations on foreign policy is the conviction that no policy can be made to work well in the modern world unless it comes from and has the understanding support of the people. The emphasis is on the word *understanding*. This means seeing clearly the limitations and shortcomings as well as the possibilities and importance of a policy. This is realism. It is through the free give-and-take in face-to-face discussion that men best seek and find that understanding which makes them ready to take the next step with determination that it shall not be the last step.

Horace H. F. Jayne To Visit China

[Released to the press June 18]

Horace H. F. Jayne, vice director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, is being sent to China in the dual capacity of specialist in archeology under the cultural-cooperation program of the Department of State and special representative of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, known as the Roberts commission.

The Chinese Government has formed a commission similar to the Roberts commission, of which the chairman is the Vice Minister of Education, Lih-wu Han, and the vice chairman the well-known archeologist Tsu-cheng Liang of the Academia Sinica. Mr. Jayne will work with this commission to assist the United States Army Air Forces to protect cultural monuments from bombing and other military damage and to give first aid to those accidentally injured.

Upon the recommendation of the Roberts commission, Mr. Jayne will go first to England, France, and Italy, for consultation concerning details of the techniques worked out in those theaters so that he may be better prepared to assist in the preservation and restoration of cultural monuments in the Far East.

The Proclaimed List

[Released to the press June 24]

The Acting Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Director of the Office of Inter-American Affairs, on June 23 issued Cumulative Supplement No. 4 to Revision IX of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals.

Cumulative Supplement No. 4 to Revision IX supersedes Cumulative Supplement No. 3 dated May 4, 1945.

The supplement to the Proclaimed List which is released today is the first since the fall of Germany. In this supplement 1,980 names have been deleted from the List, leaving a total of 11,871 names which remain listed. A total of 67 additions to the List have been made.

The majority of these deletions are minor offenders removed not for merit but pursuant to a policy of adjusting the post - V-E Day List to the changed security situation. In a number of the other American republics such minor offenders have been deleted in previous supplements in accordance with the established policy of reducing, and even eliminating, the List in those countries whose control over undesirable persons is satisfactory. Further supplements may be expected to reflect some additional deletions related to the reduction of the List to a size feasible for indefinite continuance.

Visit of Venezuelan Educator

[Released to the press June 21]

The Reverend Father Rafael Eugenio, director of a school-workshop for rural students in the State of Táchira, Venezuela, has arrived at Washington as a guest of the Department of State. Father Eugenio has conferred with officers of the Department of Agriculture and of the agricultural divisions of the United States Office of Education, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Pan American Union. His tour of the United States will include representative rural schools, cooperatives, and demonstration farms, with a special visit to Boys Town.

The school-workshop that Father Eugenio heads was established in 1940. Its enrollment, fluctuating with local conditions, varies from 60 to 120 students. It is located in a region of mountain farmers who for the most part own small truck farms ranging from one to five acres in extent. They raise some cattle and sheep, and Father Eugenio's school-workshop is helping them to improve the strains of their stock, and teaching them not only how to grow better crops but also to produce their own woolen clothing and to make the bricks for building their homes. Graduates of the school-workshop in their turn become teachers in agricultural extension services to the community, and organizers of farm cooperatives.

Gift of Property From Costa Rica

[Released to the press June 20]

On May 28, 1945 the Honorable Fernando Soto Harrison, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Costa Rica, submitted to the deputies of the Costa Rican Constitutional Congress a decree authorizing the gift to the Government of the United States of America of a piece of land in San José. The decree stated that this land was to be given to the United States for the construction of a building to house the offices of the Embassy in Costa Rica. In a statement to the press on May 29 the Acting Minister said:

"Costa Rican public opinion should realize the significance of the step agreed upon by the Executive. It should certainly realize moreover that we are not trying to pay with this modest offering for all the many things which the Government and people of the United States have done for us, for this would be out of all proportion. For we have been favored with so many transcendental services that nothing which we can offer with our poor resources could compensate even in part for what we have received from a nation which is a thousand times entitled to our gratitude and our respect. The Executive's project is inspired by the idea of rendering a symbolic homage to the great American nation. We wish to show thereby not only our gratitude but also our confidence. We know through intimate conviction that from the United States the militarily weak peoples, but who have

aspirations for justice and culture, will receive the most ample guarantee of existence because the great democracy of the North has fought in this war without thought of sacrifice, and has given its sons and accepted privations to make possible the existence of a better world, in which oppressors have been destroyed and men and their families can live free of fear, free of misery, free to think, to speak and to believe. Costa Rica, although small, guided by its invariable love for these great democratic ideals desires to have the privilege of offering to the diplomatic representative of this great Allied nation a little land which can serve as a site for offices.

"Congress will thus have a fine opportunity in representation of the Costa Rican people to give this homage to the United States. There will be thus expressed the imperishable gratitude which we all feel for the cooperation, cultural, economic and military, with which the United States has shown to us its devotion to democracy and to republican institutions. Our people will see in this act a spirit of reciprocity for so many benefits received through the many entities which have been collaborating with us to help our country to better the conditions of life of our people and to strengthen our culture."

On June 4, 1945 the Constitutional Congress passed the decree. The property is approximately 36 meters in length by 19 meters in width and thus is an area of over 7,200 square feet. It is situated in the First District and Canton of the Province of San José facing on Third Avenue and First Street.

President Truman on June 14, 1945 accepted with great appreciation this gift of property. The Department is deeply grateful for this generous gesture on the part of the Government of Costa Rica.

Professor of Ceramics Accepts Visiting Professorship to Honduras

[Released to the press June 23]

Kenneth E. Smith, professor of ceramics at Tulane University, New Orleans, has accepted a visiting professorship for the academic year in the School of Fine Arts at Tegucigalpa, Honduras. His first project in Tegucigalpa will be testing

Honduran clays in order to determine their availability for use and their ceramic possibilities. The Government of Honduras has shown great interest in developments along these lines and has authorized Professor Smith to purchase in the United States complete laboratory equipment for testing clays and beginning experimental ceramic production. Under auspices of the Honduran Government, 30 students for Professor Smith's classes are being selected from all regions of that Central American Republic.

Appointment of Cuban Librarian as Consultant to Library of Congress

[Released to the press June 23]

Jorge Aguayo, assistant director of the Library of the University of Habana, Cuba, has been appointed Consultant on Hispanic books to the Library of Congress for the next two months. In 1941, on a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship, Dr. Aguayo studied library services at Columbia University. In 1944 he helped organize and was a visiting professor in the Library School established at Lima, Peru, under auspices of the American Library Association in connection with the reconstruction of the great Lima Library after a disastrous fire. Dr. Aguayo is the only Cuban member of the American Library Association.

The Library of the University of Habana, of which he is assistant director, consists of some 80,000 volumes. In addition to this general collection, the University of Habana has four special departmental libraries, in the colleges of agriculture, engineering, law, and medicine: a grand total of approximately 150,000 volumes.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

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Status of Civil Aviation Documents Concluded at Chicago December 7, 1944

DATES OF SIGNATURES

Country	Final Act	Interim Agreement	Convention	Transit Agreement (Two Freedoms)	Transport Agreement (Five Freedoms)
Afghanistan	X	X	X	X	X
Australia	X	X	X		
Belgium	X	4/9/45	4/9/45	4/9/45	
Bolivia	X	X	X	X	X
Brazil	X	5/29/45	5/29/45		
Canada	X	X	X	2/10/45	
Chile	X	X	X	X	
China	X	X	X		X
Colombia	X	5/24/45			
Costa Rica	X	3/10/45	3/10/45	3/10/45	3/10/45
Cuba	X	4/20/45	4/20/45	4/20/45	4/20/45
Czechoslovakia	X	4/18/45	4/18/45	4/18/45	
Dominican Republic	X	X	X		X
Ecuador	X	X	X	X	X
Egypt	X	X	X	X	
El Salvador	X	5/9/45	5/9/45	5/9/45	5/9/45
Ethiopia	X	3/22/45		3/22/45	3/22/45
France	X	X	X	X	
Greece	X	X	X	X	
Guatemala	X	1/30/45	1/30/45	1/30/45	1/30/45
Haiti	X	X	X	X	X
Honduras	X	X	X	X	X
Iceland	X	X	X	4/4/45	4/4/45
India	X	X	X	X	
Iran	X	X	X	X	
Iraq	X	X	X	X	
Ireland	X	X	X		X
Lebanon	X	X	X	X	X
Liberia	X	X	X	X	X
Luxembourg	X				
Mexico	X	X	X	X	X
Netherlands	X	X	X	X	X
New Zealand	X	X	X	X	
Nicaragua	X	X	X	X	X
Norway	X	1/30/45	1/30/45	1/30/45	
Panama	X	5/14/45			
Paraguay	X				
Peru	X	X	X	X	X
Philippine Commonwealth	X	X	X	X	
Poland	X	X	X	X	
Portugal	X	X	X		
Spain	X	X	X	X	
Sweden	X	X	X	X	X
Switzerland	X	X			
Syria	X	X	X		
Turkey	X	X	X	X	X
Union of South Africa	X	6/4/45	6/4/45	6/4/45	
United Kingdom	X	X	X	X	
United States	X	X	X	X	X
Uruguay	X	X	X	X	X
Venezuela	X	X		X	X
Yugoslavia	X				
Danish Minister	X	X	X	X	X
Thai Minister	X	X	X	X	X

DATES OF ACCEPTANCES OF AGREEMENTS AND OF DEPOSITS OF RATIFICATIONS OF CONVENTION

Country	Interim	Convention	Transit	Transport
Afghanistan	5/16/45		5/16/45	5/16/45
*Australia	5/19/45			
*Belgium	4/17/45			
Bolivia				
*Brazil	5/20/45			
*Canada	12/30/44		2/10/45	
*Chile	6/4/45			
*China	6/6/45			1 6/6/45
*Colombia	6/6/45			
Costa Rica				
Cuba				
*Czechoslovakia	4/18/45		4/18/45	
Dominican Republic				
Ecuador				
*Egypt	4/26/45			
*El Salvador	5/31/45		5/31/45	5/31/45
Ethiopia	3/22/45		3/22/45	3/22/45
*France	6/5/45			
Greece				
Guatemala				
Haiti	6/2/45			
Honduras				
Iceland	6/4/45			
*India	1 5/1/45		1 5/1/45	
Iran				
*Iraq	6/4/45			
Ireland	4/27/45			
Lebanon	6/4/45			
Liberia	3/17/45		3/17/45	3/17/45
Luxembourg				
*Mexico	5/22/45			
*Netherlands	1/11/45		1/11/45	1 1/11/45
New Zealand	1 4/18/45		1 4/18/45	
Nicaragua	1/30/45		1/30/45	
*Norway	1/30/45			
Panama				
Paraguay				
*Peru	5/4/45			
Philippine Commonwealth				
Poland	4/6/45	4/6/45	4/6/45	
Portugal	5/29/45			
Spain				
Sweden				
Switzerland				
Syria				
*Turkey	6/6/45		6/6/45	1 6/6/45
Union of South Africa				
*United Kingdom	1 5/31/45		1 5/31/45	
*United States	2/8/45		1 2/8/45	1 2/8/45
Uruguay				
Venezuela				
Yugoslavia				
Danish Minister				
Thai Minister				

X indicates signature under date of Dec. 7, 1944.

1 With reservation.

2 Reservation excluding Newfoundland, withdrawn by Great Britain 2/7/45.

3 Ad referendum.

* Elected to First Interim Council.

1 Provisions of art. IV, sec. 3, become operative when Convention is ratified.

2 Reservation: Do not regard Denmark and Thailand (Siam) as being parties.

3 Accepted first four Freedoms only.

4 Reservation respecting Fifth Freedom.

5 With reservation.

PUBLICATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

During the quarter beginning April 1, 1945, the following publications have been released by the Department:¹

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2271. *Popular Relations and the Peace*. Address by Archibald MacLeish, Assistant Secretary of State. 14 pp. 5¢.
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2281. *Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Peru—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Washington May 9 and 11, 1942*. Executive Agreement Series 441. 5 pp. 5¢.
2282. *International Civil Aviation Conference, Chicago, Illinois, November 1 to December 7, 1944, Final Act and Related Documents*. Conference Series 64. iii, 284 pp. 45¢.
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2288. *What Is America's Foreign Policy and Main Street and Dumbarton Oaks*. Radio Broadcasts by the Department of State, February 24, 1945, and March 3, 1945. 36 pp. Free.
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2293. *It's Your State Department*. A Radio Broadcast by the Department of State, April 7, 1945. 23 pp. Free.
2294. *Recommendation for Renewal of Trade Agreements Act*. Message of the President to the Congress, March 26, 1945. Commercial Policy Series 76. 8 pp. Free.
2295. *Foreign Service List*, January 1, 1945. iv, 130 pp. Subscription, 50¢ a year, single copy 20¢.
2296. *Food for the Family of Nations: The Purpose and Structure of the Proposed Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*. By Howard R. Tolley, Department of Agriculture, and Leroy D. Stinebower, Department of State. 18 pp. 5¢.
2297. *The United Nations: Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a General International Organization*. Conference Series 66. 8 pp. Free.
2298. *Toward the Peace—Documents*. 40 pp. 15¢.
2299. *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. XII, no. 299, March 18, 1945. 88 pp. 10¢.²
2300. *War—How Can We Prevent It?* Foreign Affairs Outline No. 1. 4 pp. Free.
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2309. *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. XII, no. 300, March 25, 1945. 56 pp. 10¢.
2310. *The Department of State*. 8 pp. Free.
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2312. *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. XII, no. 301, April 1, 1945. 68 pp. 10¢.
2313. *The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals*. Cumulative Supplement No. 2, April 6, 1945, to Revision IX of February 28, 1945. 30 pp. Free.
2314. *Diplomatic List*, April 1945. ii, 129 pp. Subscription, \$2 a year; single copy, 20¢.
2315. *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. XII, no. 302, April 8, 1945. 68 pp. 10¢.
2316. *Procurement of Strategic Materials: Agreement Between the United States of America and Colombia—*

¹ Serial numbers which do not appear in this list have appeared previously or will appear in subsequent lists.

² Subscription, \$3.50 a year.

- Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Bogotá March 29, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 442. 11 pp. 5¢.
2317. Fisheries Mission: Agreement Between the United States of America and Mexico and Exchange of Notes Dated September 7 and October 18, 1944 Amending and Extending the Agreement—Agreement effected by exchanges of communications dated at Mexico April 17, May 22, July 22 and 27, and October 24, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 443. 15 pp. 5¢.
2318. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 303, April 15, 1945. 59 pp. 10¢.
2320. United Nations Will Write Charter for World Organization. Address by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State, New York, April 6, 1945. Conference Series 68. 8 pp. 5¢.
2321. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 304, April 22, 1945. 68 pp. 10¢.
2322. The Economic Basis for Lasting Peace. Address by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State, Chicago, April 4, 1945. Conference Series 69. 19 pp. 10¢.
2323. Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation, January 1, 1945. Inter-American Series 25 (revised). II, 18 pp. 10¢.
2324. The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals. Cumulative Supplement No. 3, May 4, 1945, to Revision IX of February 28, 1945. 39 pp. Free.
2325. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 305, April 29, 1945. 55 pp. 10¢.
2327. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 306, May 6, 1945. 40 pp. 10¢.
2328. Diplomatic List, May 1945. II, 129 pp. Subscription, \$2 a year; single copy, 20¢.
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2331. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 307, May 13, 1945. 32 pp. 10¢.
2332. Trans-Isthmian Highway: Agreement Between the United States of America and Panama Supplementing the Convention of March 2, 1936—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Washington August 31 and September 6, 1940. Executive Agreement Series 448. 9 pp. 5¢.
2333. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 308, May 20, 1945. 32 pp. 10¢.
2334. Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Bolivia—Effectuated by Exchange of notes signed at La Paz August 1 and 8, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 445. 6 pp. 5¢.
2335. Foreign Service List (Abridged), April 1945. II, 67 pp. Subscription 50¢ a year; single copy, 15¢.
2336. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 309, May 27, 1945. 50 pp. 10¢.
2340. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 310, June 3, 1945. 43 pp. 10¢.
2343. Diplomatic List, June 1945. II, 131 pp. Subscription, \$2 a year; single copy, 20¢.
2345. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 311, June 10, 1945. 51 pp. 10¢.

TREATY SERIES

888. Double Taxation: Convention and Protocol Between the United States of America and the French Republic—Signed at Paris July 25, 1939; proclaimed by the Presi-

dent of the United States of America January 5, 1945; effective January 1, 1945. 27 pp. 10¢.

989. Double Taxation, Estate Taxes and Succession Duties: Convention Between the United States and Canada—Signed at Ottawa June 8, 1944; proclaimed by the President of the United States of America March 6, 1945; effective June 14, 1941. 10 pp. 5¢.

The Department of State also publishes the United States Statutes at Large which contain the laws of the United States and concurrent resolutions of Congress, proclamations of the President, treaties, and international agreements other than treaties. The Statutes are issued after adjournment *sine die* of each regular session of Congress. The laws are also published in separate prints, popularly known as slip laws, immediately after enactment. These are issued in two series, Public Laws and Private Laws, consecutively numbered according to the dates of approval or the dates upon which bills or joint resolutions otherwise become law pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution. Treaties also are issued in a special series and are numbered in the order in which they are proclaimed. Spanish, Portuguese, and French translations, prepared by the Department's Central Translating Division, have their own publication numbers running consecutively from 1. All other publications of the Department since October 1, 1929 are numbered consecutively in the order in which they are sent to press; in addition, some of them are subdivided into series according to general subject.

To avoid delay, requests for publications of the Department of State should be addressed direct to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department. The Superintendent of Documents will accept deposits against which the cost of publications ordered may be charged and will notify the depositor when the deposit is exhausted. The cost to depositors of a complete set of the publications of the Department for a year will probably be somewhat in excess of \$15. Orders may be placed, however, with the Superintendent of Documents for single publications or for one or more series.

The Superintendent of Documents also has, for free distribution, the following price lists which may be of interest: Foreign Relations of the United States; American History and Biography; Laws; Commerce and Manufactures; Tariff; Im-

migration; Alaska and Hawaii; Insular Possessions; Political Science; and Maps. A list of publications of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce may be obtained from the Department of Commerce.

ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION

Guide to Commercial Shark Fishing in the Caribbean Area, Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, Washington, D.C., March 1945. 140 pp. 56 illustrations.

This pamphlet attempts to set out, for the benefit of the people and fishermen of the Caribbean, the best available information on sharks—their varieties, location, by-products, commercial and nutritional value, and the methods of catching, processing, and marketing them. The report is not a scientific work nor is it intended to be a theoretical discussion. It aims at but one purpose, namely, to tell you how you can best make shark fishing profitable to yourself.

FOREIGN AGRICULTURE

The article listed below will be found in the June issue of the Department of Agriculture publication entitled *Foreign Agriculture*, copies of which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 10 cents each:

"Agriculture in São Paulo, Brazil", by Henry W. Spielman, junior agricultural economist, American Consulate General, São Paulo, Brazil.

THE DEPARTMENT

ERRATUM

Cloyce K. Huston as Chief of the Division of Southern European Affairs, effective June 1, 1945, and not as erroneously reported in the *Bulletin* of June 10 as Chief of Southeast Asian Affairs.

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